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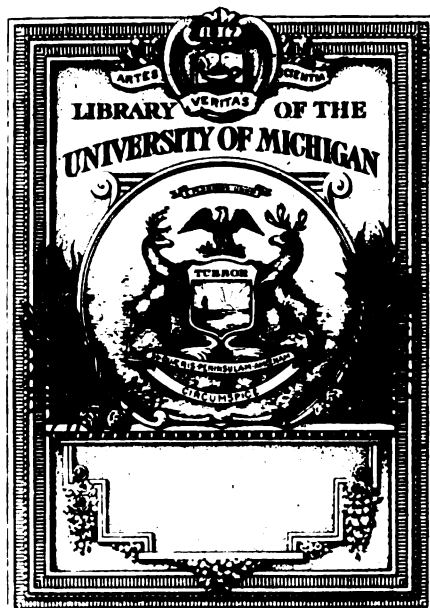
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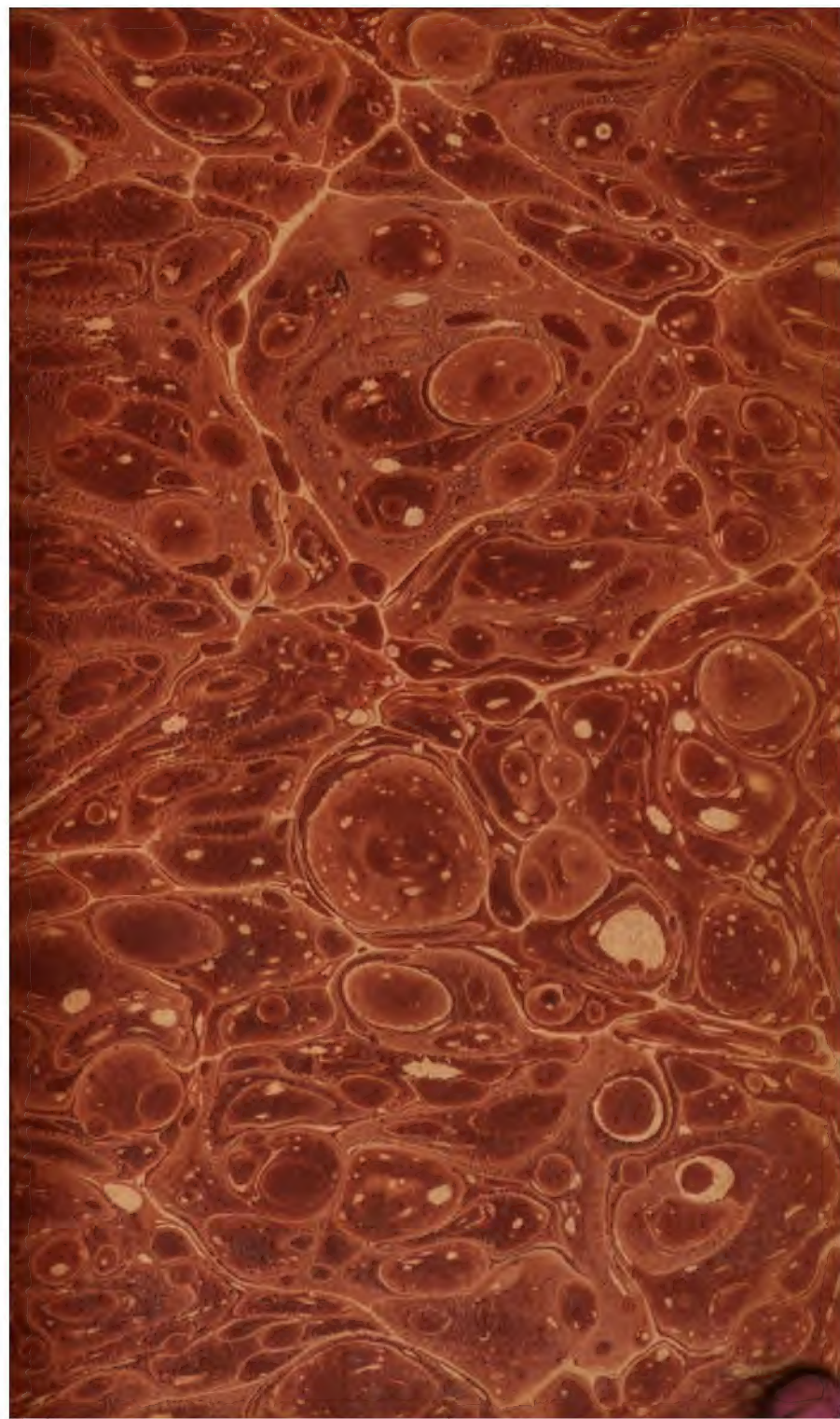
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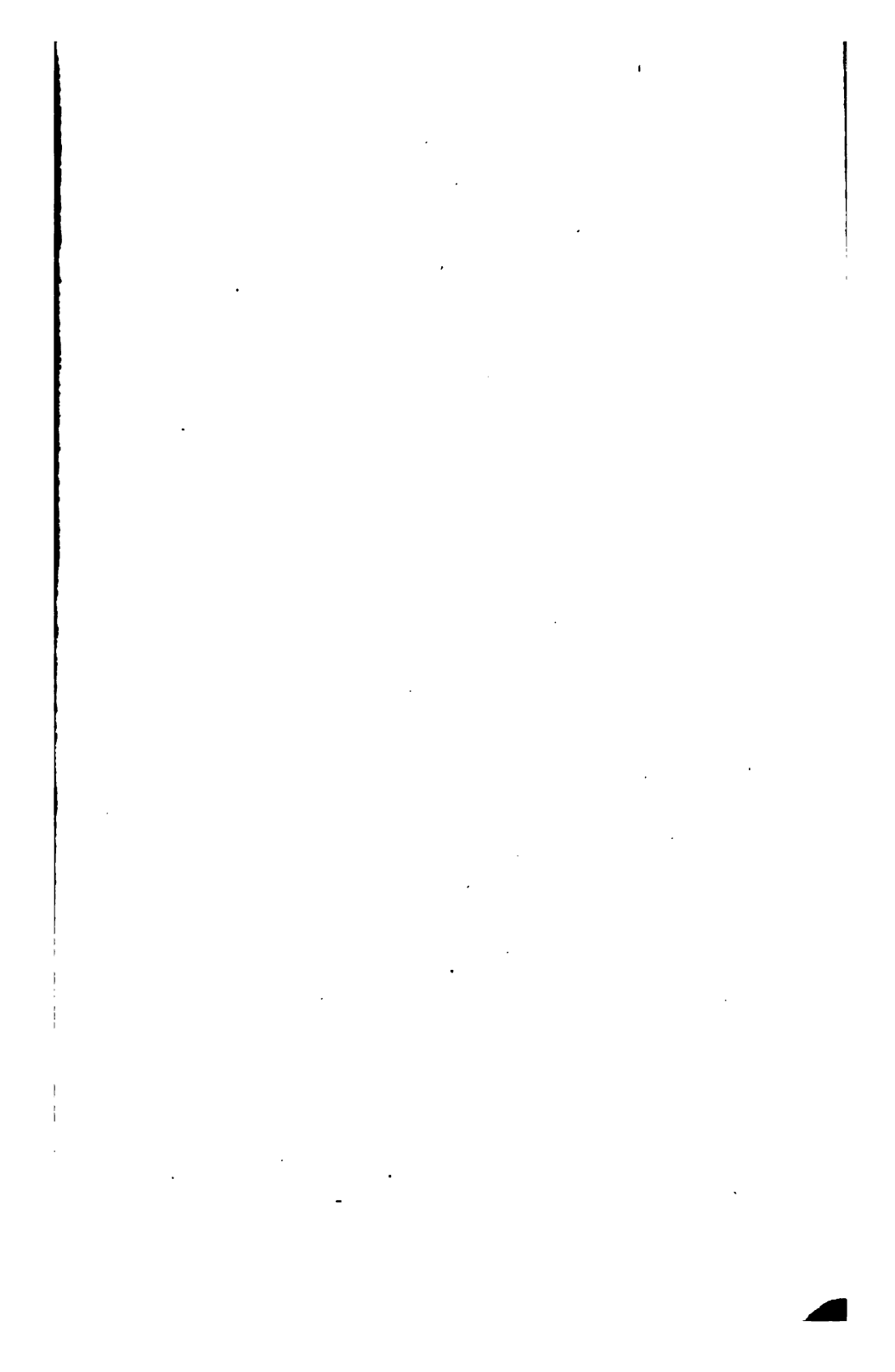
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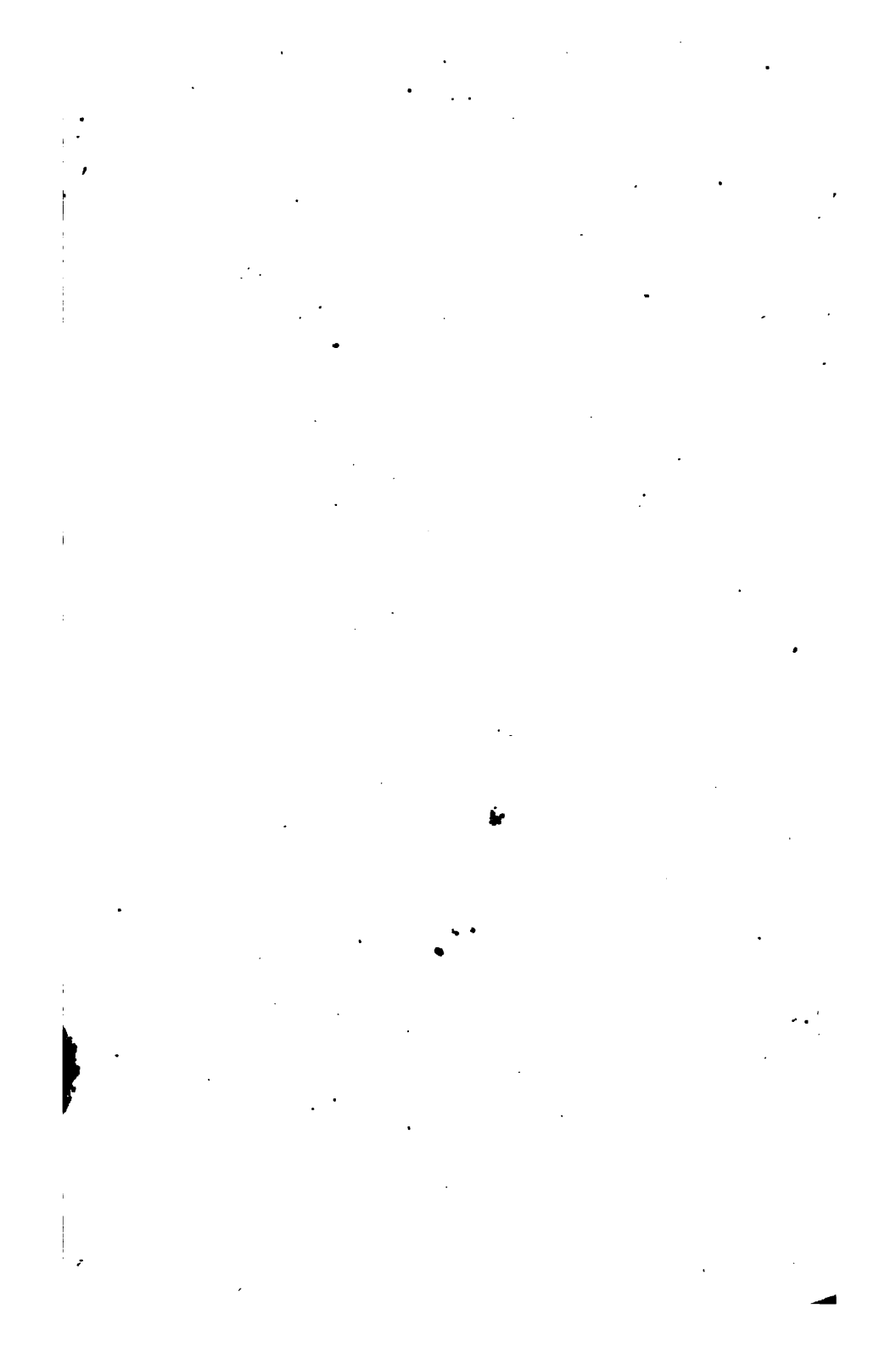
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Jones

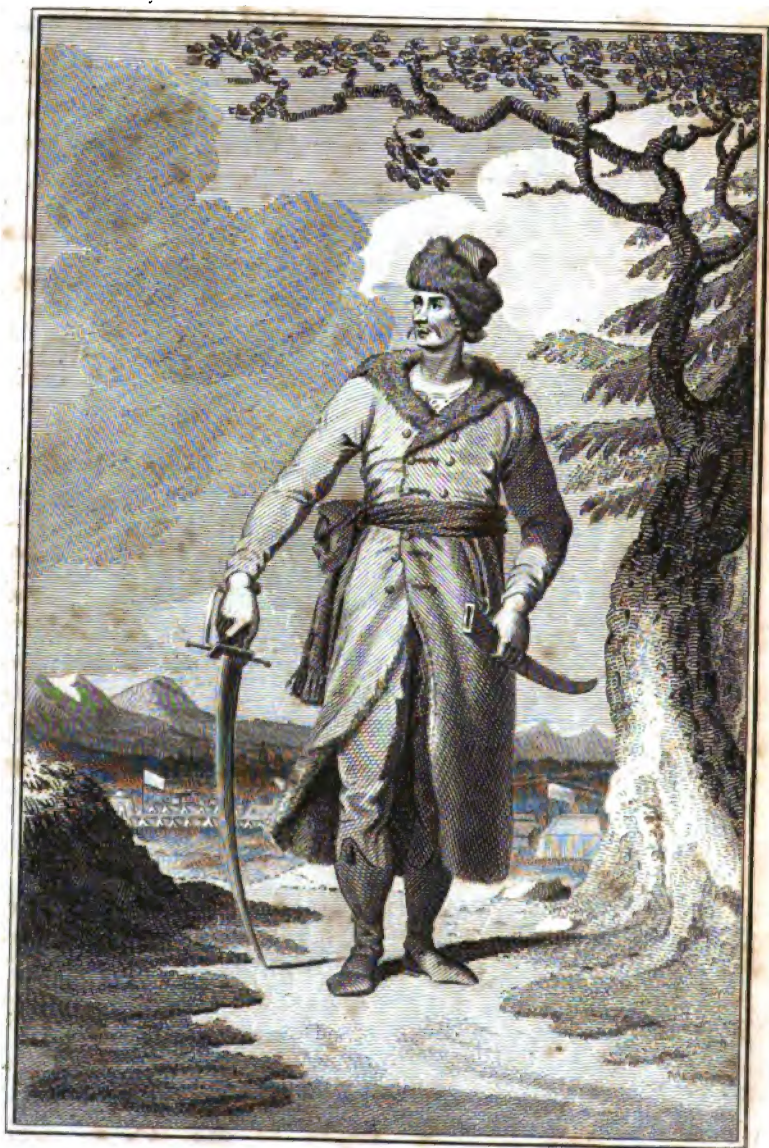
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GENERAL KOSCIUSKO.

Published as the Act directs February 12. 1796. by Verner & Hood Bishop's Lane Cornhill.



THE
HISTORY
OF
POLAND,
FROM
Its Origin as a Nation
TO
THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE YEAR 1795.
To which is prefixed
AN ACCURATE ACCOUNT
OF
THE GEOGRAPHY AND GOVERNMENT OF THAT
COUNTRY,
AND THE
CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF ITS INHABITANTS.

What is all war, but more diffusive robbery
Made sacred by success? What object swells
A Monarch's highest aim?—Increase of power
And universal sway. This glorious end
All means must sanctify that can secure. MALLER.

That prince who sees his country laid in ruins,
His subjects perishing beneath the sword
Of foreign rage, who sees and cannot save them,
Is but supreme in misery. THOMSON.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR VERNOR AND HOOD, BIRCHIN-LANE, CORNHILL.

1795.



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P R E F A C E.

INTERESTING as the affairs of Poland have been for some years past, it is a little remarkable that no Historical Account of that Country has been lately published, to enable Englishmen to trace the progress of its political state, and, by connecting causes and effects, to account for the phænomena there recently exhibited.

THE Reverend and ingenious Mr. Coxe, in an account of his Travels, has given a sketch of the Polish Constitution, &c. which, though necessarily brief, is yet, perhaps, as far as it goes, more to be depended upon than the work of any other modern writer; but it does not profess to be a History.

It will hardly be necessary, therefore, to apologise for offering to the Public at the present time a regular, connected, and faithful account of the origin, progress, and present state of Poland. But though the design should be approved, it may yet be proper to lay before the Reader the sources of the information contained in this volume.

THESE are :

Du Thou's General History of the World from 1545 to 1608.

M. L'Abbé Parthenay's History of Poland under Augustus II.

M. de Voltaire's Charles XII.

M. de Fontenelle's Oration pronounced in the Academy of Sciences at Paris, in memory of the Czar Peter.

Perry's State of Russia.

Universal History.

Coxe's Travels.

Guthrie's History of the World.

——— Geographical Grammar.

Salmon's Geographical Grammar.

Facts relative to the Dismemberment of Poland.

IN these various authorities, contradictions that appeared on a cursory view to be irreconcilable, and obscurities that were for some time impenetrable, have frequently been encountered. Neither labour nor study, however, has been spared in the task of elucidating such passages by comparing one account with another; and that has invariably been adopted as truth which bore the strongest internal evidence.

To concentrate in one point every part of each that could convey any valuable and authentic information, has been the grand aim in this Work: and it is presumed, that the most striking circumstances recorded by all former writers on the subject of Polish History are here brought into view.

THE original intention was, to refer at the foot of each page to the authorities consulted; but this design was abandoned on account of the room that must necessarily have been occupied by such notes, and on the presumption that the same purpose of authentication might be answered by the general statement which has been laid before the reader in the

preceding page. For the history of the last few years, indeed, the British and Foreign Gazettes have been the best documents to which recourse could be had : but even these have been consulted with the utmost caution and discrimination.

If a sympathy in the unparalleled misfortunes of the Poles be visible in some of the following pages, the Compiler is justified in the sentiment by the loud voice of the world ; nor, hard as many observations may seem to bear on the powerful neighbours of Poland, will he expect or need credit for a single assertion for which he shall not produce incontestable documents.

THE Reader will perceive, that the condition of the country has been in some measure changed during the progress of this volume through the Press : as, however, no decisive measures have yet been adopted for a new *territorial division*, the change will operate in a very small degree on any part of the Work.

As to the dress in which the composition appears, it remains only to observe, that simplicity

plicity of narration has been preferred to a studied style of diction, because it was conceived to be better adapted to the purpose of imprinting historical facts upon the memory. It is only hoped, that what is wanting in ornament will be compensated by fidelity.

It may be permitted, perhaps, to say, that the labour which the Compiler has undergone has been considerable; and if some unimportant errors be met with in the Work, as it is submitted with deference, he shall bow to correction, though he solicits indulgence.

S. J.

London,
Feb. 1, 1795.

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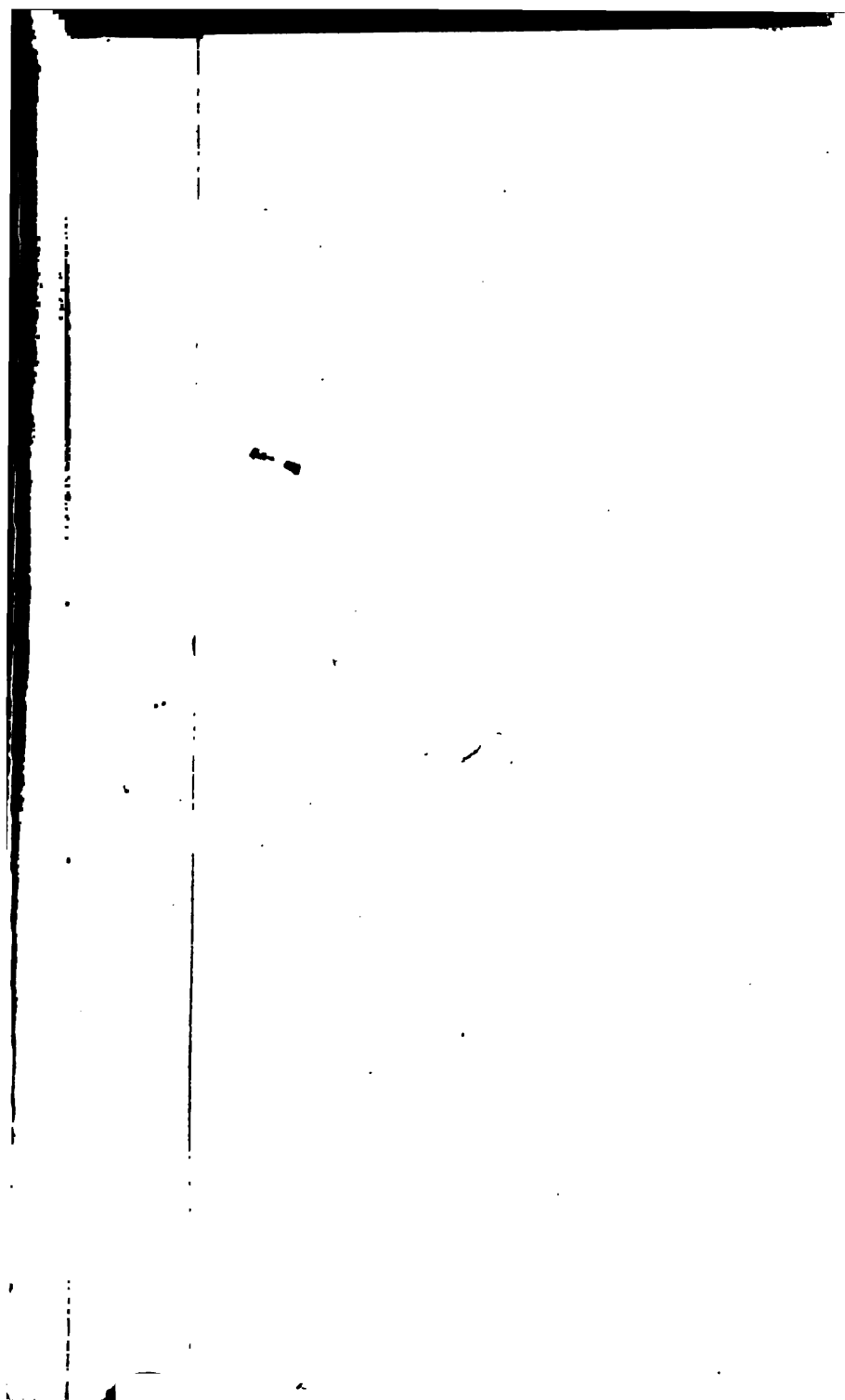
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ERRATA.

Page 77. dele "SECT. I."

170. After SECT. IX. for "MICHAEL," substitute
"INTERREGNUM."





THE
HISTORY
OF
POLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

SECT. I.

BOUNDARIES AND EXTENT.

THIS country, at present so interesting to every contemplative mind, is situated between 16 and 34 degrees of E. longitude, and between 46 and 57 N. latitude.

In its original undivided state, the kingdom of Poland (anciently called Sarmatia), with the great duchy of Lithuania annexed, was bounded on the North by Livonia, Muscovy, and the Baltic sea; on the East by Muscovy; on the South by Hungary, Turkey, and Little Tartary;
B and

and on the West by Pomerania, Brandenburg, Silesia, and Moravia.

It was then divided into provinces, and those again subdivided into palatinates, as follow; viz.

<i>Provinces*.</i>	<i>Palatinates*.</i>	<i>Chief Cities*.</i>
I. Great Poland, on the West.	Poznań Kallitz	Pozna Kallitz, Gnesna, E. Long. 18. N. Lat. 53.
	Brześć Wladisław Dobrzin Plotzko Rawa Lenzits Sieradz Inowłodz	Brześć Wladisław Dobrzin Plotzko Rawa Lenzits Sieradz Inowłodz
II. Little Poland, on the West.	Cracow	Cracow, E. Long. 19. 30. N. Lat. 50.
	Sandomir Lublin	Sandomir Lublin
III. Prussia Royal, N. West of the Weisel, or Vistula, most of it subject to Poland.	Pomerania	Dantzic, a free city under the protection of Poland, E. Lon. 18. 39. N. Lat. 54. 22.
	— — — —	Elbing Marienburg Culm Thorn
IV. Prussia Ducal, East of the Vistula, subject to the King of Prussia.	— — — —	Koningsberg, E. Long. 21. N. Lat. 54. 40. Memel

* In the orthography of the names of places, the Map of Poland by Thomas Kitchin, sen. appended to Mr. Coxe's Travels, has generally been followed, which in many instances varies materially from those of Salmon and Guthrie. The reason of this preference, however, will be obvious to those who consider the two latter as mere compilations (though very useful ones), and the latter as the work of a lettered traveller. The account, too, which Mr. C. gives of his map attaches a degree of credit to it, that claims our respect: "It is (says he) taken principally from the General Map of that country published at Warsaw, by which the limits of the dismembered provinces were at first regulated; and from the particular maps published in Russia, Austria, and Prussia, ascertaining the respective boundaries."

HISTORY OF POLAND.

3

Provinces.	Palatinates.	Chief Cities.
V. Samogitia, North }	— — — —	{ Rosiene Miedniki
VI. Courland, North, subject to its own Duke. }	Courland proper Semigallia	{ Goldingen Mittaw
VII. Lithuania, North East. }	Vilna Braſlaw Polotſk Vitepſk Troki Mińsk Micilaſſ Novogrodek	{ Vilna, E. Long. 25. 15. Lat. 55. Braſlaw Polotſk Vitepſk Troki, Grodno Mińsk Micilaſſ Novogrodek
VIII. Maſovia, in the middle. }	Czerſk	{ Warſaw, E. Long. 21. 5. Lat. 52. 15. Czerſk Novogrod
IX. Podolachia, in the middle. }	Biełſk	{ Biełſk
X. Połeſia, in the middle. }	Biełeſtk *	{ Biełeſtk *
XI. Red Ruſſia, South Weſt. }	Chelm Beltz Lemburg, or Leopold	{ Chelm Beltz Lemburg, or Leopold
XII. Podolia, South Eaſt. }	Upper Podolia Lower Podolia	{ Kaminiec Bratalaw
XIII. Volhinia, South Eaſt. }	Upper Volhinia Lower Volhinia	{ Luko Bialgorod

Thus the country ſtood divided prior to the diſmemberment and partition by Ruſſia and Pruſſia in 1772.

By a manifeſto published March 25, 1793, however, it underwent another exciſion, and the following table will exhibit pretty accurately its preſent ſtate (June 1794).

* As one inſtance out of many of the diſcordant orthography before alluded to, the place which is thus designated in Mr. Cox's Map is by Salmon (and by the Compiler of Guthrie's Grammar, probably from him) ſpelt *Bruſſici*.

Provinces.	Miles in Length.	Miles in Breadth.	Square Miles.	Chief Cities.
Great Poland, annexed to Prussia.	208	180	19,800	Gnesna
Little Poland, chiefly subject to Austria.	230	130	18,000	Cracow
Prussia Royal, subject to Prussia.	118	104	6,400	{ Dantzic Thorn, and Elbing
Samogitia, remains to the Crown of Poland.	155	98	8,000	Rosene
Courland, subject to Russia.	174	80	4,414	Mittaw
Lithuania, the greatest part now possessed by Russia.	333	310	64,800	Vilna
Masovia, remains to the Crown of Poland.	152	90	8,400	Warsaw
Podlachia, remains to Poland.	133	42	4,000	Bialst
Polesia, great part taken by Russia	186	97	14,000	Birsettk
Red Russia, chiefly subject to Austria.	232	185	25,200	Lemberg, or Leopold
Podolia, annexed to Russia.	360	120	29,000	Kaminiec
Volhania, part annexed to Russia.	305	150	25,000	Luko

Total 226,414 Square Miles.

Hence it appears, that three of its smallest provinces are all the domains left to the unfortunate and degraded kingdom of Poland, by the modest and magnanimous sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Well, indeed, does the poet say;

Ambition is a lust that's never quench'd,
Grows more inflam'd and madder by enjoyment ;

At distance

A goodly prospect tempting to the view :
The height delights us, and the mountain top
Looks beautiful, because 'tis nigh to heaven ;
But we ne'er think how sandy's the foundation,
What storms will batter, and what tempests shake us.

OTWAY.

A pas-

A passage in our immortal Shakespeare too contains a just sentiment, and may be prophetic in the instance before us :

*Ambition's like a circle on the water,
Which never ceases to enlarge itself,
Till by broad spreading it disperse to nought.*

HEN. VI.

S E C T. II.

RIVERS.

The principal rivers of Poland are,

1. The Duna (or Dwina), which rises in Lithuania, and, running west, divides Poland from Livonia, falling into the Baltic below Riga.

2. The Vistula (or Weisfel), which rising in the south of Silesia, runs east into Poland, passes by Cracow, turns north, and having visited Warsaw, falls into the Baltic at Dantzic by several channels, receiving the Bog above Plotzko.

3. The Warta, which runs from east to west, and falls into the Oder at Kustrin.

4. The Wilia, which rising in the east of Lithuania, runs west by Vilna, and, having received the Bereozina, (or Rusa) falls into the Baltic near Memel.

5. The Dnieper (or Borysthene), which rising in the province of Moscow, runs west into Poland, and, turning south, enters Muscovy again at Kiof; then, continuing its course south-east, falls into the Euxine Sea at Otchakof (or Ocza-kow), having received the Przypiec in its passage.

6. The Bog, which, rising in Volhinia, runs south-east through Podolia, and falls into the Dnieper above Otchakof.

7. The Dniester, which rises in Red Russia, running south-east, divides Poland from Turkey;

and having passed by Bender, falls into the Euxine Sea at Bialgorod.

S E C T. III.

LAKES.

THERE are two considerable lakes in Poland, viz. Goplo, in the palatinate of Brzest; and Bials, or, the White Lake, which is said to dye those who wash in it of a swarthy complexion.

S E C T. IV.

AIR, OR CLIMATE.

THE air is cold in the north, yet healthy; but temperate in other parts of the kingdom. As it is for the most part an inland country, the weather is more settled, both in winter and summer, than in places which lie near the sea-coast.

S E C T. V.

NAME; AND, FACE OF THE COUNTRY.

POLAND is one large plain, whence it is said to have derived its name; Polu, or Pole, being a Slavonian word denoting a country fit for hunting. The only hills, indeed, of any consequence are the Carpathian mountains, by which it is divided from Hungary and Transylvania on the south; there are also some large forests of pines and firs in Lithuania. The only sea that borders on Poland is the Baltic.

S E C T.

S E C T. VI.

SOIL AND PRODUCE.

THE country is in general level, and the soil fruitful, especially in corn; hence the vast quantities of grain that are exported thence down the Vistula to Dantzic, and sold to the Dutch and other nations. They also export large cargoes of hemp, flax, leather, furs, timber, pitch, tar, turpentine, hops, wax, pot-ash, nitre, and vitriol.

The pastures in Poland, especially in Podolia, are rich beyond expression, and have given rise to a saying, perhaps a little hyperbolic, that one can hardly see the cattle that graze in the meadows.

The country, particularly about Lithuania, abounds also with mines of silver, copper, iron, salt, and coals. The forests are numerous, and furnish timber in such quantities, that it is usually employed in house-building instead of bricks, stones, and tiles. Various kinds of fruit and herbs, and some grapes, are produced in Poland, and are excellent when properly cultivated; but their wine seldom or never comes to perfection. Poland produces also various kinds of clays fit for pipes and earthen ware.

The water of many springs is boiled into salt. The virtues of a spring in the palatinate of Cracow, which increases and decreases with the moon, are said to be wonderful for the preservation of life; and it is reported, that the neighbouring inhabitants commonly live to 100, and some of them to 150 years of age. This spring is inflammable, and by applying a torch to it, it flames like the subtlest spirits of wine. The flame, however, dances on the surface, without heating

the water; and if neglected to be extinguished, which it may easily be, it communicates itself, by subterraneous conduits, to the roots of trees in a neighbouring wood, which it consumes; and about thirty-five years ago, the flames are said to have lasted for three years before they could be entirely extinguished*.

SECTION VII.

VEGETABLE AND ANIMAL PRODUCTIONS.

THE vegetable productions of Poland have been already mentioned under the article SOIL, &c. though some are peculiar to itself, particularly a kind of manna (if it can be called a vegetable), which in May and June the inhabitants sweep into sieves with the dew, and it serves for food dressed various ways. A great quantity of yellow amber is frequently dug up in Lithuania, in pieces as large as a man's fist, supposed to be the production of a resinous pine.

The forests of Warsovia (or Masovia), are overrun with uri, or buffaloes, whose flesh the Poles powder, and esteem it an excellent dish. Horses, wolves, boars, the glouton, lynx, elk, and deer, all of them wild, are common in the Polish forests; and there is a species of wild horses, asses, and oxen, of which the nobility of the Ukraine, as well as the natives, are very fond. A kind of wolf, resembling a hart, with spots on his belly and legs, is found here, and affords the best

* See a circumstance of this kind explained in "*Rudiments of Reason*," vol. iii. p. 72. printed for E. Newbery, 1794. A book well adapted to the use of schools, as it familiarizes to juvenile minds the true causes of the various phenomena of Nature.

furs in the country ; but the elk, which is common in Poland, as well as in some other northern countries, is a very extraordinary animal. The flesh of the Polish elk forms the most delicious part of their greatest feasts. His body is of the deer make, but much thicker and longer ; the legs high, the feet broad, like a wild goat's. Naturalists have observed, that upon dissecting an elk, there was found in its head some large flies, with its brain almost eaten away ; and it is an observation sufficiently attested, that in the large woods and wildernesses of the north, this poor animal is attacked, towards the winter chiefly, by a larger sort of flies, that, through its ears attempt to take up their winter quarters in its head. This persecution is thought to affect the elk with the falling-sickness, by which means it is taken, and which would otherwise prove no easy matter. Poland also produces a creature called bohac : it resembles a guinea-pig, but seems to be of the beaver kind. They are noted for digging holes in the ground, which they enter in October, and do not come out, except occasionally for food, till April : they have separate apartments for their provisions, lodgings, and their dead ; and live together by 10 or 12 in a herd.

We do not perceive that Poland contains any species of birds peculiar to itself ; but we are told that the quails there have green legs, and their flesh is reckoned to be unwholesome. Lithuania is rich in ornithology ; among the birds of prey are the eagle and vulture. The *remiz*, a little species of titmouse, is frequently found in these parts, and is famous for the wondrous structure of its pendent nest, formed in the shape of a long purse, with amazing art.

S E C T. VIII.

POPULATION.

BEFORE the partition in 1772 the population of Poland was calculated at 14,000,000 of inhabitants. Since that event, however, the Empire's having been supposed to have taken 1,500,000 ; the Emperor, 2,500,000 ; and the King of Prussia 860,000, deducts about 5,000,000 of souls from their ancient kingdom, and leaves the present estimate of population at about 9,000,000 *, of which the Jews compose 600,000.

S E C T. IX.

COMMERCE.

OF Poland the chief exports are, all species of grain, hemp, flax, cattle, masts, planks, timber for ship-building, pitch, tar, honey, wax, tallow, potash, and leather ; in return for which it imports foreign wines, cloths, stuffs, manufactured silks and cotton, fine linen, hardware, tin, copper, silver and gold, glass ware, furs, &c. Some linen and woollen cloths, silks, stuffs, camlets, lace and hardwares, are manufactured in the interior parts of Poland and Lithuania ; but commerce is chiefly confined to the city of Dantzic, and other port-towns on the Vistula and the Baltic.

From the various productions and great fertility of Poland, its trade might be carried to a con-

* We say, the *present estimate* (though rather inaccurately), including, as we do, to the state of the kingdom previous to its recent dismemberment in 1793. We have no authentic documents, however, from which to deduce the certain difference.

siderable

siderable height; but the following causes tend to suppress the spirit of commerce.

1. The nobles are degraded if they engage in any kind of traffic. 2. The burghers of the large towns are not sufficiently rich to establish any manufactures; and either through want of industry, or through dread of excessive extortions from the principal nobility, leave almost all the retail-trade in the hands of foreigners and Jews. The inhabitants of the small towns, who are exposed to greater oppressions, are still more disqualified from pursuing any branch of commerce. 3. The peasants being slaves, and the property of their master, cannot retire from the place of their nativity without his consent. John Albert, observing that commerce could never flourish while this restriction subsisted, enacted, that one peasant in a family should be permitted to quit his village, either for the purpose of trade or literature; but a clause by which they were enjoined to obtain the consent of the lord, frustrated the purpose of this excellent law, and rendered it nugatory.

As the Poles are obliged to draw from foreign countries the greatest part of the manufactured goods necessary for their interior consumption, the specie which is exported exceeds the imported more than 20,000,000 Polish florins, or 555,555*l*.

Among all the evils sustained by the kingdom of Poland at the dismemberment, no one was so deeply felt as the deduction of Western Prussia, as by that measure the navigation of the Vistula became entirely dependent on the Prussian Monarch. This was indeed a fatal blow to the trade of Poland, for Prussia has laid such heavy duties on the merchandize passing to Dantzic, as greatly to diminish the commerce of that town, and to transfer
a confi-

a considerable part of it to Memel and Koningberg.

S E C T. X.

FINANCES AND TAXES.

Of ~~the~~ we are furnished with a pretty clear idea from the proceedings of the Diet in 1768. The statement briefly taken (and, to save the reader trouble, reduced to English money) is thus :

	Sterling.	
Crown Treasury	£.298,562	7 2½
Expences	473,611	2 2½

Excess of expences to be supplied by taxes	-	175,048 15 0
--	---	--------------

But as part of the ancient revenues must be abolished, the new taxes must yield

-	284,355 13 4
---	--------------

Lithuania Treasury	-	101,295 4 10
Expences	-	179,948 7 10

Augmentation required	-	78,653 3 4
-----------------------	---	------------

But as some ancient imposts must be abolished, the new taxes must yield

-	118,068 18 4
---	--------------

By the dismemberment in 1772 Poland lost near half her annual income. To supply this deficiency it became necessary to new-model and increase the taxes.

	Sterling.
In 1775, all the imposts amounted to	£.323,012
The neat revenue of the King was	- 194,500

out of which he only paid his household expences and menial servants. It arose from royal demesnes,

demefnes, faroffices, and 74,074l. out of the treasury.

	Sterling.
Whole revenue	£.443,938
Deduct the King's revenue	194,500
	<hr/>
For army, ftate officers, and all charges	249,438

S E C T. XI.

MILITARY FORCE.

THE forces of the kingdom are all cavalry, and it is faid that Poland can with eafe raife 100,000, and Lithuania 70,000 horfe; but this calculation muft certainly be underftood to include the numerous vaffals and fervants, who are obliged to follow their lords when they are fummoned, on pain of forfeiting their eftates. As to their infantry, they are generally hired from Germany, but are foon difmiffed, becaufe they muft be maintained by extraordinary taxes, of which the Polish grandees are by no means fond. As to the ordinary army of the Poles, it confifted, in 1778, of 12,310 men in Poland, and 7,465 in Lithuania, cantoned into crown-lands.

The ftanding army of Poland being fo inconfiderable, the defence of the country, in cafe of invafion, is left to the gentry at large, who are afsembled by regular fummons from the king, with the confent of the diet. Every palatinate is divided into diftricts, over each of which proper officers are appointed; and every perfon poffeffing free and noble tenures is bound to military fervice, either fingly or at the head of a certain number of his retainers, according to the extent and nature of his poffeffions. The troops thus assembled

bled are only obliged to serve for a limited time ; and are not under the necessity of marching beyond the limits of their country. The mode of levying and maintaining this army is exactly similar to that practised under the feudal system. Though in general it is almost totally unfit for the purposes of repelling a foreign enemy, it is yet a powerful instrument in the hands of domestic faction : for the expedition with which it is raised under the feudal regulations, facilitates the formation of those dangerous confederacies, which suddenly start up on the contested election of a sovereign, or whenever the nobles are at variance with each other.

There are two sorts of confederacies. The first are those formed with the consent of the king, senate, or equestrian order, assembled in the diet ; by which the whole nation confederates for the good of the country. The second are the confederacies of the several palatinates, which unite for the purpose of redressing any grievance, or remonstrating against encroachments of the sovereign power. These may be particular, or general, and are usually the forerunners of a civil war. The general confederacy, which is always in opposition to the king, is called *Rokoz*, and is formed by the union of the particular confederacies.

As every Polish gentleman has a right to maintain as many troops as he chuses, it may easily be conceived, that each palatinate is the scene of occasional disputes and petty contentions between the principal nobles, and sometimes even between their respective retainers. In such a dreadful state of anarchy, it is a wonder that the whole kingdom is not a perpetual scene of endless commotions, and that the nation is composed of any thing

thing else but lawless banditti. It redounds, therefore, greatly to the honour of the natural disposition of the Poles, that amid all these incentives to confusion, a much greater degree of tranquillity, than could be well expected, is maintained.

The empress of Russia keeps in the country 10,000 soldiers, and every garrison is composed of Russians and natives; 1000 of the former are stationed at Warsaw *. These hold the nobles in subjection, and the king himself is little more than a viceroy, while the Russian ambassador regulates the affairs of the kingdom under the direction of his court. The *pospolite* consists of all the nobility of the kingdom and their followers, excepting the chancellor, and the starosts of frontier places; and may be called by the king into the field upon extraordinary occasions; but he cannot keep them above six weeks in arms, neither are they obliged to march above three leagues out of the kingdom.

The Polish hussars are the finest and most shewy body of cavalry in Europe; next to them are the *pancerns*; and both those bodies wear defensive armour of coats of mail and iron caps. The rest of their cavalry are armed with muskets and heavy scymetars. After all that has been said, however, the Polish cavalry are extremely inefficient in the field; for though the men are brave, and their horses excellent, they are strangers to all discipline; and when drawn out, notwithstanding all the authority their crown-generals, their other officers, and even the king himself, have over them, they are oppressive and destructive to the court. It is certain, notwithstanding, that the Poles may be

* The Reader will perceive that all our accounts are retrospective, and describe Poland as it was previous to the existing invasion.

rendered excellent troops by discipline, and that on various occasions, particularly under John Sobieski, they made as great a figure in arms as any people in Europe, and proved the bulwark of Christendom against the infidels. It did not suit the Saxon princes, who succeeded that hero, to encourage a martial spirit in the Poles, whom they perpetually overawed with their electoral troops; nor indeed to introduce any reformation among them, either civil or military; the effects of which conduct have been since severely felt in that country.

S E C T. XII.

ARMS OF THE KINGDOM.

THE arms of *Poland* are quarterly. In the first and fourth *Gules* an Eagle *Argent*, crowned and armed *Or*, for *Poland*. In the second and third *Gules* a cavalier armed cap-a-poe *Argent*; in the dexter hand a naked sword of the same; in the sinister a shield *Azure*, charged with a bearded cross, *Or*, mounted on a courser of the second, barbed of the third, and neiled of the fourth, for *Lithuania*. For the Crest a Crown, heightened with eight Fleurets, and close with four demi-circles, ending with a Monde, *Or*. The motto, *Habent sua fidera Reges*.

S E C T. XIII.

TITLES OF THE KING.

KING of Poland, Great Duke of Lithuania, Duke of Russia, Prussia, Masovia, Samogitia, Kiovia, Volhinia, Podolia, Podolachia, Livonia, Smolensko, Severia, and Czernikovia.

S E C T.

S E C T. XIV.

ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD.

THE Order of the *White Eagle* was first instituted by Ladislaus in 1325, but revived by Augustus I. in 1705; to attach to him some of the Polish nobles who, he feared, were inclined to Stanislaus; his competitor: it was conferred also on the czar Peter the Great of Prussia. The present king instituted the "order of *St. Stanislaus*," soon after his election to the crown in 1765. The badge is a gold cross enamelled red, and on the center of it is a medallion with the image of St. Stanislaus, enamelled in proper colours. It is worn pendent to a red riband ended with white. The star of the order is silver, and in the center is a cypher of S. A. R. (Stanislaus Augustus Rex) encircled with the motto "*Premiando incitat.*"

S E C T. XV.

COINS.

THE value in Sterling money of the

	£.	s.	d.
Florin of Poland is	0	1	2
Rix-dollar	0	3	6
Ducat	0	9	4
Frederic	0	17	6

S E C T. XVI.

PERSONS, MANNERS, DRESS, CUSTOMS, AND
DIVERSIONS.

THE persons of the Poles are in general very noble, their complexions fair, and their shapes well

well proportioned. They have been long celebrated for their courage, their strength, and their longevity; no country in the world affording more extraordinary proofs of bodily vigour, and an uninterrupted flow of health, which are justly ascribed to the temperature of the climate, the temperance of the people, and their constant habit in manly exercises. The continual use of the cold-bath, even in the coldest parts of Poland, is supposed likewise to contribute greatly to that muscular strength for which they are so remarkable. The nobility are open, affable, liberal, and hospitable; polite to strangers, rigid to their dependents, punctilious in points of honour, vain, ostentatious, and magnificent in their apparel, equipages, and living, though even their magnificence favours strongly of barbarism. They are early initiated in letters, speak Latin with fluency, but seldom make any progress in matters of taste or science. Passionately fond of liberty, the Poles live in a perpetual state of servitude to their avarice, their profusion, and their necessities, whereby they are rendered the infamous pensioners of foreign states, the creatures of their own monarchs, or the hireling tools of some political faction. Their political constitution has been the source of continual misfortunes; yet are they attached to it to a degree of enthusiasm, and especially those parts which produce the greatest inconveniencies. Poor in the midst of a fertile country, they abhor the notion of improving their circumstances by trade, and are the only nation in the world who have provided by law against raising a maritime power. Prodigality and debauchery are not reputed vices among this martial nobility: they borrow without intention of paying, with the same freedom they squander. Constant in their friend-

friendships, bitter in their enmities, open to imposition, unsuspicious, opinionated, and haughty; their only care is to distinguish themselves in arms, in finery, equipage, and splendor. As to the vulgar, they are, generally speaking, mean, mercenary, ignorant, indolent, and indigent.

The following character of the Poles, by the late king of Prussia, is not much exaggerated: "Poland is in a state of perpetual anarchy. The great families have all of them separate interests, and all preferring themselves to their country, they agree only in severity towards their vassals, whom they treat more like beasts than human creatures.—The Poles are vain, insolent in good fortune, servile in adversity; they stick at nothing to amass money; which, having obtained unjustly, they spend it prodigally; as fickle in their judgments as frivolous in their tastes; their measures are adopted capriciously, and abandoned without reason. The unsteadiness of their characters is continually plunging them into difficulties.—They have laws, but no one observes them, for want of coercive authority."

The common mode of salute in this country is to incline the head, and to strike the breast with one of the hands, while they stretch the other toward the ground; but when a common person meets a superior, he bows his head almost to the earth, waving at the same time his hand, with which he touches the bottom of the leg, near the heel, of the person to whom he pays his obedience. The Poles shave their heads, leaving only a circle of hair upon the crown, and men of all ranks generally wear large whiskers *. They wear also a

* A German historian (Mascou) remarks, that the manner in which the Poles wear their hair is, perhaps, one of the most ancient tokens of their origin. So early as the fifth century some nations,

vest which reaches down to the middle of the leg, and a kind of gown over it lined with fur, and girded with a sash; but the sleeves fit as close to their arms as a waistcoat. Their breeches are wide, and make but one piece with their stockings; they wear a fur cap or bonnet; their shirts are without collar or wristbands, and they wear neither stock nor neckcloth. In place of shoes they wear yellow Turkey-leather buskins, with thin soles, and deep heels plated with iron or steel, and bent like a half moon. The summer dress of the peasants consists of nothing but a shirt and drawers of coarse cloth, without shoes or stockings, with round caps or hats; in winter they wear a sheep's skin, with the wool inwards. The women of the lower class wear on their heads a wrapper of white linen, under which their hair is braided, and hangs down in two plaits. Many of them have a long piece of white linen hanging round the side of their faces, and covering their bodies below their knees; which singular kind of veil makes them look as if they were doing penance. In the district of Samogitia the peculiar care they have of their daughters induce the women to make them wear little bells, before and behind, to give notice where they are. The dress of the higher orders of both sexes is uncommonly elegant. That of the gentlemen is a waistcoat with sleeves, over which they wear an upper robe of a different colour, which reaches down below the knee, and is fastened round the waist with a sash or girdle; the sleeves of this upper garment

nations, who were comprehended under the name of Scythians, had the same custom. For Priscus Rhator, who accompanied Maximus in his embassy from Theodosius II. to the court of Attila, describes a Scythian lord, whose head was shaved in a circular form (*capite in rotundum raso*), a mode perfectly similar to the present fashion in Poland.

are

are in warm weather tied behind the shoulders. A sabre, or cutlass, is a necessary part of their dress as a mark of nobility. In summer the robe, &c. is of silk; in winter they wear fables, or the skins of tygers, leopards, &c. or velvet or stuff edged with fur. When they appear on horseback, they wear over all a short cloak, which is commonly covered with furs both within and without. On the whole, we must pronounce the dress of the Poles to be picturesque and majestic.

Their diversions are warlike and manly; vaulting, dancing, and riding the great horse, hunting, skating, bull and bear baiting. They usually travel on horseback; a Polish gentleman will not travel a stone's throw without his horse, and they are so hardy, that they will sleep upon the ground, without any bed or covering, in frost and snow. The Poles never live above stairs, and their apartments are not united: the kitchen is on one side, the stable on another, the dwelling-house on the third, and the gate in the front. They content themselves with a few small beds, and if any lodge at their houses, they must carry their bedding with them. When they sit down to dinner or supper, they have their trumpets and other music playing, and a number of gentlemen to wait on them at table, all serving with the most profound respect; for the nobles who are poor frequently find themselves under the necessity of serving those who are rich; but their patron usually treats them with civility, and permits the eldest to eat with him at his table, with his cap off; and every one of them has his peasant boy to wait on him, maintained by the master of the family. At an entertainment, the Poles lay neither knives, forks, nor spoons, but every guest brings them with him; and they no sooner sit down to table than all the

doors are shut, and not opened again till the company return home. It is usual for a nobleman to give his servant part of his meat, which he eats as he stands behind him, and to let him drink out of the same cup with himself: but this is the less extraordinary, if it be considered that these servants are esteemed his equals. Bumpers are much in fashion both here and in Russia; nor will they easily excuse any person from pledging them. With respect to the grandeur and equipages of the Polish nobility, the reader may figure to himself an idea of all that is fastidious, ceremonious, expensive, and shewy in life, to have any conception of their way of living. They carry the pomp of their attendance, when they appear abroad, even to ridicule; for it is not unusual to see the lady of a Polish grandee, besides a coach and six, with a great number of servants, attended by an old gentleman usher, an old gentlewoman for her governante, and a dwarf of each sex to hold up her train; and if it be night, her coach is surrounded by a great number of flambeaux. The figure of their pomp, however, is proportioned to their estates; but each person goes as far as his income can afford.

SECT. XVII.

RELIGION.

THE established religion of the country is Popery, and to this persuasion the nobles, and the great body of the people, are strongly attached. The number of Protestants, however, Lutheran and Calvinists, in the republic, particularly in the trading towns near the Baltic, is very considerable. When those sects are joined to the Greek church,

church, the whole are called Dissidents. The republic tolerate every religion but Protestants, for Lithuania contains a multitude of Mahometan Tartars, of Jews, and persons of the Greek religion, who are seldom or never disturbed on account of their several persuasions. The national inveteracy to the Protestant doctrines, however, has frequently called forth remonstrances and restrictions. The treaty of Oliva, concluded in 1660, tolerated the Dissidents, and was guaranteed by the principal powers in Europe; but this was so disregarded by the Poles, that in the year 1724 they made a public massacre of the Protestants at Thorn. The monasteries in Poland are said to be 576, the nunneries 117, besides 246 seminaries or colleges, and 31 abbeys. The principles of Socinianism made a very early and considerable progress in this country. A translation of the Bible into the Polish language was published in 1572; and two years after, under the direction of the same persons, the catechism, or confession of the Unitarians, was published at Cracow. The abilities and writings of Socinus greatly contributed to the extensive propagation of his opinions; but though the Socinians in Poland have been very numerous, they have at different times been greatly persecuted. However, it was lately resolved between the republic and partitioning powers, that all Dissidents should henceforth enjoy the free exercise of their religion, though to continue excluded from the diet, the senate, and the permanent council. They are to have churches, but without bells; also schools and seminaries of their own; they are capable of sitting in the inferior courts of justice, and three of their communion are admitted as assessors in the tribunal to receive appeals in religion.

S E C T. XVIII.

ARCHBISHOPRICS AND BISHOPRICS.

THERE are but two archbishoprics, that is to say, Gnesna and Lemburg. The archbishop of Gnesna is always a cardinal, and primate of the kingdom; and during an interregnum, or in the king's absence, he is regent. The bishoprics are, those of Pozna, Vilna, Cracow, Culm, Karnoslow, Window, Miedniki, Plotzko, Letzko, Colmemsee, Fossenburg, Premislaw, and Kaminiec. All these bishops, particularly the bishop of Cracow, enjoy great privileges and immunities.

S E C T. XIX.

LANGUAGE.

THE proper language of Poland is the Slavonian, but intermixed with the High Dutch. In Lithuania, the language differs much from that of the other provinces. But in general it is rendered extremely harsh and inharmonious from the abundance of consonants employed in it, some of the words having no vowels at all *. Latin is generally understood and spoken by the meanest people †. In the provinces bordering on Russia

* The Pater-noster in the Polish language is of the following tenor:

Oycze nasz, ktorys na niebiosach; niech sie swieci imie twoie; niech przyjdzie krolestwo twoie; niech bedzie wola twoja jakco y w niebietak y na ziemi; chleba naszego powszedniego day nam dzisza; yodpusc nam nasze winy, jako y my odpusc zamy naszym winowaycom; ynie wwodz nas pokuszenie; ale nas wybaw ode zdlago; abowiem twoie jest krolestwo y moc e chwala na wieki. Amen.

† "I had (says Mr. Coxe) several opportunities of remarking the prevalence of the Latin tongue in Poland; when I visited the prisons, I conversed in that language with a common soldier, who stood guard at the entrance: he spoke it with great fluency."

and

and Germany the languages of those countries are well understood.

S E C T. XX.

STATE OF LEARNING.

THOUGH Copernicus, the great restorer of the Pythagorean, or true astronomical system, Vorf-tius, and some other learned men, were natives of Poland *, yet, from the nature of the government, learning has in no period been very widely diffused in this country. No kingdom, however, can boast a more regular succession of excellent historians, or a greater variety of writers deeply conversant in the laws, statutes, and constitution. Under Sigismund I. and his son Sigismund Augustus, the arts and sciences were greatly distinguished by royal patronage; they were also cherished by some succeeding monarchs, particularly John Sobieski; but no prince has paid them more attention than the present king Stanislaus Augustus. His munificence in this particular has been attended with the happiest effects. The Polish literati have within a few years given to the public a much greater variety of elegant performances than ever appeared in any former period of the same length. What is more material, a taste for science has spread itself among the nobles, and begins to be regarded as an accomplishment †. The enlargement of mind derived by these licentious spirits from this new pursuit has already weaned several of them from their habits of bar-

* Copernicus was born at Thorn 1472, and died 1543.

† The nobility formerly, placing their chief importance in the privileges of their rank, shewed a sovereign contempt for learning.

barous turbulence, and greatly humanized their civil deportment. It may in time teach them thoroughly to comprehend the true interest of their country, and the expedience of due subordination, hitherto deemed incompatible with liberty.

SECT. XXI.

UNIVERSITIES, &c.

THE universities of Poland are, those of Cracow, of Vilna, and of Posna ; though this latter may, perhaps, be more properly considered as a Jesuit's college than an university. That of Cracow is under the direction of priests, called Academicians, and its course of studies chiefly theological ; it consists of 11 colleges, and has the supervisorship of 14 grammar schools dispersed through the city : the number of students in 1778 amounted to 600. The university of Vilna was under the superintendence of the Jesuits ; and its course of studies, like that of Cracow, principally directed to theology. Since the suppression of the order of Jesuits, the king has established a committee of education, composed of men distinguished either by high station or enlightened understandings, which committee has an absolute power in matters of education ; appoints professors, regulates their salaries, and directs their studies.

The public library of Warsaw owes its origin to the private bounty of two bishops of the family of Zalusk, and over the door is this inscription ; "CIVIUM USUI PERPETUO ZALUSICORUM PAR ILLUSTRÉ DICAVIT 1714." It has since received several large additions from various benefactors, and contains

tains 200,000 volumes, It is very rich in books and manuscripts relating to the Polish history, most of which are written in Latin.

SECT. XXII.

ANTIQUITIES, AND NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL CURIOSITIES.

Among the natural curiosities of Poland must be reckoned the wild men that have been found in the woods of that country. The frequent incursions of the Tartars and other barbarous nations, who often bore off whole villages of people into slavery, probably forced the women to carry their children into the woods for safety, and, in case of farther pursuit, to leave them behind; for they are frequently found among bears and other wild beasts, by whom they are nourished, and taught to feed like them. Such beings have been frequently found in the woods both of Poland and Germany, divested of almost all the properties of humanity, except the form. Those that have been taken went generally upon all-fours, though sometimes they stood upright. They had not the use of speech at first, but were taught to speak when brought into towns and used kindly; retaining no memory of their former savage lives when they came to be humanized, and made conversable by cultivation.

The salt mines of the country are striking objects of natural curiosity. These are wonderful caverns, several hundred yards deep, at the bottom of which are many intricate windings and labyrinths. Out of these are dug four different kinds of salts; one extremely hard, like crystal;
another,

another, softer, but clearer; a third, white, but brittle; these are all brackish; but the fourth is somewhat fresher. These four kinds are dug in different mines near the city of Cracow; on one side of them is a stream of salt water; and on the other, one of fresh. The revenue arising from these and other salt-mines is very considerable, and formed part of the royal revenue, till they were seized by the emperor, being situated within the provinces which he dismembered from Poland; the annual average profit of that of Wielitska was 3,500,000 Polish florins, or 97,222l. 4s. 6d. sterling. The latter, indeed, is the most considerable salt-mine in the world, and from it a great part of the continent is supplied with that article. Wielitska is a small town about eight miles from Cracow: the mine is excavated in a ridge of hills at the northern extremity of the chain which joins to the Carpathian mountains, and has been wrought above 600 years, for they are mentioned in the Polish annals so early as 1237 under Boleslaus the Chaste *, and not then as a new discovery: how much earlier they were known cannot be ascertained.

There are eight openings or descents into this mine, six in the field, and two in the town itself, which are mostly used for letting down the workmen, and taking up the salt; the others being chiefly used for letting in wood and other necessaries.

The openings are five feet square, and about four wide; they are lined throughout with timber, and at the top of each there is a large wheel with a rope as thick as a cable, by which things are let down and drawn up; and this is worked

by a horse. When a stranger has the curiosity to see the works, he must descend by one of these holes; he is first to put on a miner's coat over his cloaths, and then being led to the mouth of the hole by a miner, who serves for a guide, the miner fastens a smaller rope to the large one, and ties it about himself; he sits in this, and, taking the stranger in his lap, gives the sign to be let down. When several go down together, the custom is, that when the first is let down about three yards the wheel stops, and another miner takes another rope, ties himself, takes another in his lap, and descends about three yards farther; the wheel then stops for another pair, and so on till the whole company are seated, then the wheel is again worked, and the whole string of adventurers are let down together. It is no uncommon thing for forty people to go down in this manner. When the wheel is finally set a-going, it never stops till they are all down; but the descent is very slow and gradual, and it is a very uncomfortable time, while they all recollect that their lives depend on the goodness of the rope. They are carried down a narrow and dark well to the depth of six hundred feet perpendicular; this is in reality an immense depth, but the terror and tediousness of the descent makes it appear to most people vastly more than it is. As soon as the first miner touches the ground at the bottom, he slips out of the rope and sets his companion upon his legs, and the rope continues descending till all the rest do the same.

The place where they are set down is perfectly dark, but the miners strike fire and light a small lamp, by means of which (each taking the stranger he has care of by the arm) they lead them through a number of strange passages and meanders,

ders, all descending lower and lower, till they come to certain ladders by which they descend an immense depth, and this through passages perfectly dark. The damp, cold, and darkness of these places, and the horror of being so many yards under ground, generally make strangers heartily repent before they get thus far; but when at bottom they are well rewarded for their pains, by a sight that could never have been expected after so much horror.

At the bottom of the last ladder the stranger is received in a small dark cavern, walled up perfectly close on all sides. To increase the terror of the scene, it is usual for the guide to pretend the utmost terror on the apprehension of his lamp going out, declaring they must perish in the mazes of the mine if it did. When arrived in this dreary chamber, he puts out his light, as if by accident, and after much cant catches the stranger by the hand and drags him through a narrow creek into the body of the mine, when there bursts at once upon his view a world, the lustre of which is scarcely to be imagined. It is a spacious plain, containing a whole people, a kind of subterraneous republic, with houses, carriages, roads, &c. This is wholly scooped out of one vast bed of salt, which is all a hard rock, as bright and glittering as crystal, and the whole space before him is formed of lofty arched vaults, supported by columns of salt, and roofed and floored with the same, so that the columns, and indeed the whole fabric, seem composed of the purest crystal.

They have many public lights in this place continually burning for the general use, and the blaze of those reflected from every part of the mine, gives a more glittering prospect than any thing above ground can possibly exhibit. Were this the

whole beauty of the spot, it were sufficient to attract our wonder; but this is only a small part. The salt (though generally clear and bright as crystal) is in some places tinged with all the colours of precious stones, as blue, yellow, purple, and green; there are numerous columns wholly composed of these kinds, and they look like masses of rubies, emeralds, amethysts, and sapphires, darting a radiance which the eye can hardly bear, and which has given many people occasion to compare it to the supposed magnificence of heaven.

Besides the variety of forms in these vaults, tables, arches, and columns, which are framed as they dig out the salt for the purpose of keeping up the roof, there is a vast variety of others, grotesque and finely figured, the work of nature, and these are generally of the purest and brightest salt.

The roofs of the arches are in many places full of salt, hanging pendent from the top in the form of icicles, and having all the hues and colours of the rainbow; the walks are covered with various congelations of the same kind, and the very floors, when not too much trodden and battered, are covered with globules of the same sort of beautiful materials.

In various parts of this spacious plain stand the huts of the miners and families, some standing single, and others in clusters like villages. They have very little communication with the world above ground, and many hundreds of people are born and live all their lives here.

Through the midst of this plain lies the great road to the mouth of the mine. This road is always filled with carriages loaded with masses of salt out of the farther part of the mine, and carrying them to the place where the rope belonging to the wheel receives them; the drivers of these
carriages

carriages are all merry and singing, and the salt looks like a load of gems. The horses kept here are a very great number, and when once let down, they never see the day-light again; but some of the men take frequent occasions of going up and breathing the fresh air. The instruments principally used by the miners are pick-axes, hammers, and chissels; with these they dig out the salt in forms of huge cylinders, each of many hundred weight. This is found the most convenient method of getting them out of the mine, and as soon as got above ground, they are broken into smaller pieces, and sent to the mills, where they are ground to powder. The finest sort of the salt is frequently cut into toys, and often passes for real crystal. This hard kind makes a great part of the floor of the mine; and what is most surprizing in the whole place is, that there runs constantly over this, and through a large part of the mine, a spring of fresh water, sufficient to supply the inhabitants and their horses, so that they need not have any from above ground. The horses usually grow blind after they have been some little time in the mine, but they do as well for service afterwards as before.

After admiring the wonders of this amazing place, it is no very comfortable remembrance to the stranger, that he is to go back again through the same dismal way he came, and indeed the journey is not much better than the prospect; the only means of getting up is by the rope, and little more ceremony is used in the journey than in the drawing up of a piece of salt.

The salt dug from this mine is called Ziebna, or Green Salt, but for what reason it is difficult to determine, its colour being an iron grey; when pounded, it has a dirty ash colour, like what we call
brown

brown salt. The mine appears to be inexhaustible, as will easily be conceived from the following account of its dimensions, given by Mr. Coxe: Its known breadth (says he) is 1115 feet, its length 6691 feet, and depth 743; this, however, is to be understood only of the part which has been actually worked; as to the real depth, or longitudinal extent of the mine, it is not possible to conjecture.

Under the mountains adjoining to Kiow, on the frontiers of Russia, and in the deserts of Podolia, are several catacombs, or subterranean vaults, which the ancients used for burying places, and where a great number of human bodies are still preserved entire, though interred many ages since, having been better embalmed, and become neither so hard nor so black as the Egyptian mummies. Among them are two princes in the habits they used to wear. It is thought that this preserving quality is owing to the nature of the soil, which is dry and sandy.

Of antiquities Poland can boast of but few, as ancient Sarmatia was never perfectly known to the Romans themselves.

Its artificial curiosities also are not numerous, consisting chiefly of the gold, silver, and enamelled vessels presented by the kings and prelates of Poland, and preserved in the cathedral of Gnesna.

SECT. XXIII.

CHIEF CITIES AND REMARKABLE BUILDINGS.

WARSAW (the capital of Poland) is built partly in a plain, and partly upon a gentle ascent, rising from the banks of the Vistula, which is about as broad as the Thames at Westminster Bridge, but in summer very shallow. The city and its suburbs

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occupy a vast extent of ground, and are computed to contain about 70,000 inhabitants, among whom are a great number of foreigners. The former is the royal residence, and contains many magnificent palaces and other buildings, besides churches and convents. The whole town, however, has a melancholy appearance, exhibiting that strong contrast of wealth and poverty, luxury and distress, which pervades every part of the country. The streets are spacious, but ill paved, and the greatest part of the houses, particularly in the suburbs, are mean wooden hovels. In a place so built of high and low, without an intermediate quality of people, commerce will not be expected to rear its head. Here is indeed little or none. The palace stands on a rising ground at a small distance from the Vistula, and commands a fine view of that river and of the adjacent country. It was built by Sigismund III. and since his time has been the principal residence of the Polish monarchs. Warsaw is 300 miles N. E. by N. of Vienna, 130 N. N. E. of Cracow, and 160 S. E. by S. of Dantzic.

CRACOW (which still disputes with Warsaw the metropolitical pre-eminence) is a curious old town, 112 miles S. W. of Warsaw; 180 N. E. of Vienna. long. 37. 30. lat. 50. 10. It was formerly the capital of the kingdom where the monarchs were elected and crowned, and was once almost the center of the Polish dominions, though now a frontier town; a lamentable proof how much the territories of this republic have been contracted. It stands in an extensive plain watered by the Vistula, and, with its suburbs, occupies a vast space of ground, but so thinly peopled, that they scarcely contain together 10,000 inhabitants. Like that of Warsaw, the com-

commerce of Cracow is very inconsiderable, notwithstanding it lies in the neighbourhood of the rich salt mines, and contains fifty churches and convents. It is surrounded with deep ditches and high brick walls *, strengthened with round and square towers in the ancient style of fortification, and is garrisoned with 600 Russians. The great square in the middle of the town is very spacious, and has several well-built houses, but most of them either untenanted, or in a state of decay. Many of the streets are broad and handsome, but almost every building bears the most striking marks of ruined grandeur: the churches alone preserve their original splendour. The desolation of this unfortunate town was begun by the Swedes at the commencement of the present century, when it was besieged and taken by Charles XII. ; but the mischiefs it had suffered by that ravager of the North were far less destructive than those it experienced during the late dreadful commotions, when it underwent repeated sieges, and was alternately in possession of the Russians and Confederates. In a word, Cracow exhibits the remains of a magnificent capital in ruins; and from the number of fallen and falling houses, one might imagine that it had been lately sacked, and that the enemy had left it but a few days.

The university was founded and endowed by Casimir the Great, and improved and completed by Ladislaus Jaghellon: the number of students amount to about 600; the library, however, is not remarkable either for the number or rarity of its books. Among the principal objects of attention is a Turkish book, of no intrinsic value, indeed, but esteemed a curiosity because found

* Built by Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, during the short period in which he reigned over Poland.

among the spoils at the battle of Chotzim, and presented by John Sobieski to the university, as the memorial of a victory which saved his country from desolation, and raised him to the throne of Poland. This university was formerly, and not unjustly, called the mother of Polish literature, as it principally supplied the other seminaries with professors and men of learning; but its lustre has been greatly obscured by the removal of the royal residence to Warsaw, and still more by the late intestine convulsions. Toward the southern part of the town, near the Vistula, rises a small eminence or rock, upon whose top is built the palace, surrounded with brick walls and old towers, which form a kind of citadel to the town. The palace was built by Ladislaus Jaghellon; but little of the ancient structure now appears, as the greatest part was demolished by Charles XII. in 1702, when he entered the town after the battle of Clislow. This place was formerly the residence of the kings of Poland, who, from the time of Ladislaus Loketec, have been crowned at Cracow, excepting the present king; previous to whose election a decree was issued by the diet of convocation, that the coronation should be solemnized for this turn at Warsaw, without prejudice in future to the ancient right of Cracow; a proviso calculated to satisfy the populace, but which will not probably prevent any future sovereign from being crowned at Warsaw, now become the capital of Poland, and the residence of its kings.

At some distance from Cracow stands the fortress of Landskron, situated on a rock, which the confederates possessed during the late troubles; and from whence they made excursions, as occasion offered, against the Russian and Polish troops in the service of the king. By a detachment of
troops

troops from this fortress the citadel of Cracow was taken by surprize; of which gallant exploit we shall give Mr. Coxe's account:

"The person who shewed us the palace was himself present, when the Polish troops issued from a subterraneous passage, and surprized the Russian garrison, consisting of 87 troops. About four in the morning a party of 76 confederates, all of whom were Poles, led by a lieutenant *, whose name was Bytranowski, entered the palace through a common sewer, without being discovered, and repairing to the main guard instantly fell upon the Russians; the latter were so confounded with the suddenness of the assault, that they all yielded themselves prisoners without the least resistance; and the Poles became masters of the citadel. Two or three Russians were killed at the first onset, and the remainder were confined in a dungeon. One soldier, however, found means to escape by climbing the wall of the citadel, and alarmed the Russian soldiers within the town: these without delay attacked the castle, but, receiving a warm fire from the confederates, they imagined the enemy to be more numerous than they really were, and desisted from the assault. This event happened on the 2d of Febru-

* In most of the accounts published of this transaction, it is said that the confederates were led by a French officer, and that there were several Frenchmen amongst them. I have related simply the account which I received from the steward of the palace, who repeatedly assured me, that there was not one Frenchman amongst them; that they were led by a Polish lieutenant, whose name was Bytranowski. The steward was himself present at the transaction, and, as he was no soldier, was not confined with the garrison in the dungeon; he had, therefore, every opportunity of being informed of the truth: at the same time it is possible, that his partiality to his countrymen might have induced him to give the whole honour to the Poles. Monsieur Viosmenil is the French officer generally mentioned as leading this enterprising band of confederates through the subterraneous passage.

ary 1772. The same evening Monsieur de Choisy, in the service of the confederates of Landskron, being made acquainted with the success of the enterprise, advanced towards Cracow at the head of 800 confederates (amongst whom were 30 or 40 Frenchmen, most of them officers), and, having defeated a detachment of 200 Russians, was received into the citadel. But the Russian garrison in the town, which before consisted of only 400 men, being likewise reinforced, the confederates in the citadel sustained a regular siege: they defended themselves with the most undaunted spirit for the space of three months; and at length capitulated upon the most honourable terms.

“I examined the subterraneous passage through which the 76 confederates introduced themselves into the palace: it is a drain, which conveys all the filth from the interior part of the palace to a small opening without the walls near the Vistula. They entered this small opening, and crawled upon their hands and knees a considerable way, one behind another, until they came out through a hole in the walls of the palace: so that if the Russians had either been apprized of their attempt, or had overheard them in their passage, not one person could have escaped: the danger was great, but it shews what spirit and perseverance will effect.”

Adjoining to the palace, and within the walls of the citadel, stands the cathedral church, in which all the sovereigns of Poland from the time of Ladislaus Loketec, have been interred, a few only excepted. The laws of Poland are as express and minute in regulating the burial as the election and coronation of the kings; and, as many curious circumstances attend their interments, we shall

shall once more make our readers indebted to the researches of Mr. Coxe on this subject.

“ Since Warsaw has become the royal residence, and the place for the election of the kings of Poland, the body of the deceased prince must be carried first to that city ; where it remains until the nomination of the new sovereign has taken place. It is then conducted in great state to Cracow ; and, two days before the day appointed for the ceremony of the coronation, the king elect, preceded by the great officers of state, with their rods of office pointing to the ground, joins the funeral procession as it passes through the streets, and follows the body to the church of St. Stanislaus, where the burial service is performed : the remains are then deposited in the cathedral adjoining to the palace. It is peculiar to the laws of Poland, that the funeral of the deceased monarch should immediately precede the coronation of the new sovereign ; and that the king elect should be under a necessity of attending the obsequies of his predecessor. Historians have sagely remarked, that this singular custom was instituted, in order to impress the new king with the uncertainty of human grandeur ; and to remind him of his duty, by mixing the horrors of death with the pomp and dignity of his new station : yet we cannot but observe, that this precaution has not hitherto been productive of any visible effects ; as it does not appear that the kings of Poland have governed with greater wisdom and justice than other potentates. But it is most probable, that this custom took its rise from the habits of exterior homage which the Poles affect to pay to their sovereign in compensation for the substantial dignity which they withhold from him : this spirit of mock-reverence they extend beyond the grave ;

and while they scarcely allow to the reigning king the shadow of real authority, they heap upon a deceased monarch every possible trapping of imperial honour.

“The sepulchres of the kings of Poland are not distinguished by any peculiar magnificence: their figures are carved in marble, of no extraordinary workmanship, and some are without inscriptions.”

The tombs of various monarchs deposited in this cathedral furnish some admirable reflections to the mind of Mr. Coxe, which are delivered with peculiar force to the world by the ingenious pen of that writer; but for these we refer our readers to his interesting “TRAVELS.”

GRODNO [Lat. 53. 28. N. Long. 24. 15. E. 125 miles N. E. of Warsaw]. This, though not the capital, is the principal town of Lithuania, but is a large and straggling place, containing a mixture of wretched hovels, falling houses, and ruined palaces, with magnificent gateways, remains of its ancient splendour. A few habitations in good repair make the contrast more striking. Its inhabitants are estimated at about 7000, of which 1000 are Jews, and 3000 are Christians, employed in new manufactures of cloths, camlets, linen, cotton, silks, stuffs, &c. established there in 1776 by the king, who has also instituted there an academy of physic for Lithuania, in which ten students are instructed in physic, and twenty in surgery, and all taught and maintained at his own expence. The old palace, in which the kings used to reside during the diet, stood on a hill of sand rising abruptly from the river, and forming part of its banks: some remains of the ancient wall still exist. Opposite to this hill is the new palace, built, but never occupied by Augustus III. as it was not finished at the time of his death.

death. In this palace the diets have usually been held when summoned to Grodno. In 1673 it was enacted, that every third diet should be held at Grodno ; and, in conformity to this law, the first national assembly was convened here in 1678 under John Sobieski. But when the next turn of Grodno arrived, that monarch summoned the diet to Warsaw : the Lithuanians strongly opposed this infringement of their rights ; and their deputies, instead of proceeding to Warsaw, where the king, senate, and nuntios of Poland were met, repaired to this town, and formed a separate diet. In order to prevent a civil war, which this division might occasion, a negotiation took place ; and it was at length settled, that the diet of 1673 should assemble at Warsaw, but be called the diet of Grodno, and that the marshal should be chosen from the Lithuanian nuntios. From that time the diets have been occasionally summoned to Grodno ; until the reign of his present majesty, when they have been uniformly held at Warsaw ; and this innovation has been tacitly agreed to by the Lithuanians, on account of the distance of this town from the royal residence, as well as in consideration of the troubles which convulsed the country.

DANTZIC [140 miles N. of Warsaw, long. 36. 40. lat. 54. 22.] is the metropolis of Pomerania in Polish Prussia, or Prussia Royal, the see of a bishop, and the seat of an university ; and is famous in history on many accounts, particularly that of its being formerly at the head of the Hanseatic association, commonly called the Hanse towns. It is situated on the Vistula, near five miles from the Baltic, and is a large, beautiful, populous city : its houses generally are five stories high ; and many of its streets are planted with chestnut-trees.

It has a fine harbour, and is still a most eminent commercial city, although it seems to be somewhat past its meridian glory, which was probably about the time that the president de Thou wrote his much esteemed *Historia sui Temporis*, wherein, under the year 1607, he so highly celebrates its commerce and grandeur. It is a republic, claiming a small adjacent territory about forty miles round it, which were under the protection of the king and the republic of Poland. Its magistracy, and the majority of its inhabitants, are Lutherans; although the Romanists and Calvinists be equally tolerated in it. It is rich, and has 26 parishes, with many convents and hospitals. The inhabitants have been computed to amount to 200,000; but later computations fall very considerably short of it; as appears by its annual bill of mortality, exhibited by Dr. Busching, who tells us, that in the year 1752, there died but 1816 persons. Its own shipping is numerous; but the foreign ships constantly resorting to it are more so, whereof 1014 arrived there in the year 1752; in which year also 1288 Polish vessels came down the Vistula, chiefly laden with corn, for its matchless granaries; from whence that grain is distributed to many foreign nations: besides which, Dantzic exports great quantities of naval stores, and vast variety of other articles. Dr. Busching affirms, that it appears from ancient records, as early as the year 997, that Dantzic was a large commercial city, and not a village or inconsiderable town, as some pretend.

The inhabitants of Dantzic have often changed their masters, and have sometimes been under the protection of the English and Dutch; but generally have shewn a great predilection for the kingdom and republic of Poland, as being less likely to

to rival them in their trade, or abridge them of their immunities, which reach even to the privilege of coining money. Though strongly fortified, and possessed of 150 large brass cannon, it could not, through its situation, stand a regular siege, being surrounded with eminences. In 1734, the inhabitants discovered a remarkable attachment and fidelity towards Stanislaus king of Poland, not only when his enemies, the Russians, were at their gates, but even in possession of the city.

The reason why Dantzic, Thorn, and Elbing, have enjoyed privileges, both civil and religious, very different from those of the rest of Poland, is, because, not being able to endure the tyranny of the Teutonic knights, they put themselves under the protection of Poland, reserving to themselves large and ample privileges. This city, as well as that of Thorn, were exempted by the king of Prussia from those claims which he lately made on the neighbouring countries; notwithstanding which, he soon after thought proper to seize on the territories belonging to Dantzic, under pretence of their having been formerly part of Polish Prussia. He then proceeded to possess himself of the port-duties belonging to that city, and erected a custom-house in the harbour, where he laid arbitrary and insupportable duties upon goods exported or imported. To complete the system of oppression, custom-houses were erected at the very gates of Dantzic, so that no person could go in or out of the town, without being searched in the strictest manner. Such is the treatment which the city of Dantzic has received from the king of Prussia, though few cities have ever existed which have been comprehended in so many general and particular treaties, and whose rights and liberties have been so frequently secured, and
a long

guarantied by so many great powers, and by such a long and regular succession of public acts, as that of Dantzic has been. In the year 1784, it was blockaded by his troops, on various pretences: by the interposition of the empress of Russia, and of the king of Poland, they were withdrawn, and a negotiation carried on by deputies at Warsaw; this was concluded on the 7th of September; by which, as now acceded to by the citizens, the place and trade of the city are to be restored to its former stability. The city of Thorn was also treated by the king of Prussia in the same unjust and oppressive manner with that of Dantzic, and is now added to his dominions.

SECT. XXIV.

CLASSES OF PEOPLE.

THE inhabitants of Poland may be comprehended under four denominations of rank, viz. 1. Nobles; 2. Clergy; 3. Citizens, or Burghers; and, 4. Peasants.

1. The nobles are divided into two classes, viz. *Members of the Senate* and of the *Equestrian Order*. Of the peculiar powers of each of these we shall have occasion to treat when we come to speak of the CONSTITUTION OR GOVERNMENT. The term *noble*, however, is not to be accepted in the sense it obtains among us. In the Polish laws a noble is a person who possesses a freehold estate*, or

* Some citizens have the right of possessing lands within a league of the town which they inhabit; but these are not free and noble, and are always distinguished from the freeholds of the nobles; the latter are called in the statute law *terrigenæ*, or earth-born, free to live where they please, to distinguish them from persons necessarily inhabiting towns. They are also styled *indigenæ*, or natives, and *conciues*, or fellow-citizens of the republic.

who

who can prove his descent from ancestors formerly possessing a freehold, following no trade or commerce, and at liberty to choose the place of his habitation. This description includes all persons above burghers and peasants. The members of this body below the rank of senators are called, in a collective state, the equestrian order; and in their individual capacities, nobles, gentlemen, freemen or landholders, which appellations are synonymous.

All the nobles or gentry are, in the strict letter of the law, equal by birth; so that all honours and titles are supposed to add nothing to their real dignity*. By means of their representatives in the diet, they have a share in the legislative authority; and in some cases, as in the election of a king, they assemble in person; when each noble is capable of being elected a nuntio, of bearing the office of a senator, and of presenting himself as a candidate upon a vacancy in the throne. No noble can be arrested without being previously convicted, except in cases of high treason, murder, and robbery on the highway, and then he must be surprised in the fact. The definition of a noble being thus applied not only to persons actually possessing land, but even to the descendants of former landholders, comprehends such a large body of men, that many of them are in a state of extreme indigence; and as, according to the Polish law, they lose their nobility if they follow trade or commerce, the most needy generally devote themselves to the service of the richer nobles, who, like the old feudal barons, are constantly attended by a large number of retainers.

* It is particularly stated, that titles give no precedence; which in the *Pacta Conventa* of Augustus III. is called *jus equalitatis inter cives regni*, &c.

As all nobles, without any distinction, enjoy the right of voting, as well for the choice of nuntios, as at the election of a king, their poverty and their number is frequently productive of great inconvenience. Hence the king, who has justly conceived a great veneration for the English constitution, wished to introduce into the new code a law similar to ours relating to county elections, that no person should be entitled to a vote in the choice of a nuntio but those who possessed a certain qualification in land. This proposition, however, has been received with such marks of dissatisfaction, that there is little probability of its ever being suffered to pass into a law.

2. The Clergy. Micislaus, the first sovereign of Poland who embraced Christianity, A. D. 966, granted several immunities and estates to the clergy. His successors and the rich nobles followed his example; and the riches of this body continued increasing, as well from royal as private donations, until the diet, apprehensive lest in process of time the greatest part of the estates should pass into the hands of the clergy, forbade, by different laws, and particularly in 1669, the alienation of lands to the church, under penalty of forfeiture: and under the present reign several estates have been confiscated which had been bestowed upon the clergy since that period.

From the time of the first establishment of the catholic religion by Cardinal Ægidius, nuntio from Pope John XII. the bishops have been admitted into the senate as king's counsellors. They were usually appointed by the king, and confirmed by the pope; but, since the creation of the permanent council, they are nominated by his majesty out of three candidates chosen by the council: a bishop, the moment he is appointed, is of course entitled

entitled to all the privileges of a senator. The archbishop of Gnesna is primate, as we have before observed, the first senator in rank, and viceroy during an interregnum.

The ecclesiastics are all freemen, and, in some particular instances, have their own courts of justice, in which the canon law is practised. Of these courts of justice peculiar to the clergy, there are three sorts; 1. The consistorial, under the jurisdiction of each bishop in his diocese; 2. The metropolitan, under the primate, to which an appeal lies from the bishop's court; 3. That of the pope's nuntio, which is the supreme ecclesiastical judicature within the kingdom, to which an appeal may be made both from the decision of the bishop and of the primate. In cases of divorce, dispensations for marriages, and in other instances, the parties, as in all catholic countries, must apply to the pope; by which means no inconsiderable sum of money is drawn out of the country by the see of Rome.

In most civil affairs the clergy are amenable to the ordinary courts of justice. In criminal causes, an ecclesiastic is first arrested by the civil powers, then judged in the consistory, and, if convicted, he is remitted to the civil power, in order to undergo the penalty annexed to the crime of which he has been found guilty. One great ecclesiastical abuse, which has been abolished in most other catholic countries, still exists in this kingdom: when the pope sends a bull into Poland, the clergy publish and carry it into execution, without the confirmation or approbation of the civil power. Before 1538 ecclesiastics were allowed to hold civil employments; but in that year priests were declared incapable of being promoted to secular offices. They were also exempted from paying any

any taxes; but this exemption has been wisely taken off, and they are now rated in the same manner as the laity, with this difference, that their contributions are not called taxes, but charitable subsidies.

3. The next class of people are the Burghers, inhabiting towns, whose privileges were formerly far more considerable than they are at present.

The history of all countries, in which the feudal system has been established, bears testimony to the pernicious policy of holding the lower classes of men in a state of slavish subjection. In process of time, a concurrence of causes * contributed gradually to soften the rigour of this servitude, with regard to the burghers, in several of the feudal kingdoms. Among other circumstances tending to their protection, the most favourable was the formation of several cities into bodies politic, with the privilege of exercising municipal jurisdiction. This institution took its rise in Italy, the first country in Europe which emerged from barbarism, and was from thence transferred to France and Germany. It was first introduced into Poland about 1250, during the reign of Boleslaus the Chaste, who being instructed in the Teutonic or German laws by Henry the bearded duke of Wratislaw, granted first to Cracow, and afterwards to several other towns, the privileges possessed by the German cities: this body of rights is called in the statutes of Poland *Jus Magdeburgicum et Teutonicum*; and the cause assigned for its introduction is, that no city could flourish and increase under the feudal laws. In the 13th and following centuries the kings and great barons

* These causes the reader will find amply and ably illustrated in a View of the State of Europe, prefixed to Dr. Robertson's History of Charles V.

built several towns, to all which they granted a charter of incorporation conceived in the following terms : “ *Transfero hanc villam ex jure Polonico in jus Teutonicum.* ” The beneficial tendency of this political regulation soon appeared, by a sudden increase of population and wealth ; the burghers of some of the free towns acquired such a degree of importance and consideration, as to give their assent to treaties, and send deputies to the national assembly ; a noble was not degraded by being a burgher, and a burgher was capable of being an officer of the crown. A treaty which Casimir the Great entered into with the knights of the Teutonic order was not only signed by the king and the principal nobles, but also by the burghers of Cracow, Posen, Sandomir, and other towns ; and under the same monarch Wierneski *, burgomaster of Cracow, was sub-marshal and treasurer of the crown.

The burghers enjoyed the privileges just mentioned during the Jaghellon line, as appears from the different acts of Sigismund I. and his son Sigismund Augustus. During the reign of the former, the nobles endeavoured to exclude the deputies of Cracow from the diet ; but that monarch not only confirmed the right of that city to send representatives, but even decreed, that the citizens were included within the class of nobles.

When the crown became wholly elective, the burghers suffered continual encroachments on their privileges at every nomination of a new so-

* This Wierneski was so rich, that in 1363, when the emperor Charles IV. married, at Cracow, Elizabeth grand-daughter of Casimir, he gave a most sumptuous entertainment to his sovereign, to the emperor, kings of Hungary, Denmark, Cyprus, and other princes, who were present at the marriage : beside other magnificent gifts which he bestowed upon the company, he presented Casimir with a sum equal to the portion of the bride. Chroner, p. 324.

vereign ; they lost the rights of possessing lands, excepting within a small distance of their towns ; of sending deputies to the diets ; and were of course excluded from all share of the legislative authority. The principal cause of this exclusion was, that as the burghers were not obliged, by the nature of their tenures, to march against the enemy, but were only under the necessity of furnishing arms and waggons for the use of the army, they incurred the contempt of the warlike gentry, who, in the true spirit of feudal arrogance, considered all occupations, but that of war, as beneath a freeman ; and all persons, not bound to military services, as unqualified for the administration of public affairs.

The burghers, however, still enjoy a considerable portion of freedom, and possess the following immunities : they elect their own burgomaster and council ; they regulate their interior police ; and have their own criminal courts of justice, which decide without appeal. A burgher, when plaintiff against a noble, is obliged to carry the cause into the courts of justice belonging to the nobles, where the judgment is final ; when defendant, he must be cited before the magistrates of his own town, from whence an appeal lies only to the king in the assessorial tribunal. To this exemption from the jurisdiction of the nobles, though only in one species of causes, the burghers owe whatever degree of independence they still retain ; as without this immunity they would long ago have been reduced to a state of vassalage.

4. The Peasants in Poland, as in all feudal governments, are serfs or slaves ; and the value of an estate is not estimated so much from its extent, as from the number of its peasants, who are transferred

ferred from one master to another, like so many head of cattle.

The peasants, however, are not all in an equal state of subjection: they are distinguished into two sorts; 1. German; 2. Natives.

1. During the reign of Boleslaus the Chaste, and more particularly in that of Casimir the Great, many Germans settled in Poland, who were indulged in the use of the German laws; and their descendants still continue to enjoy several privileges not possessed by the generality of Polish peasants. The good effects of these privileges are very visible in the general state of their domestic œconomy; their villages are better built, and their fields better cultivated, than those which belong to the native Poles; they possess more cattle, pay their quit-rents to their lords with greater exactness; and, when compared with the others, are cleaner and neater in their persons.

2. The slavery of the Polish peasants is very ancient, and was always extremely rigorous. Until the time of Casimir the Great, the lord could put his peasant to death with impunity; and, when the latter had no children, considered himself as the heir, and seized all his effects. In 1347, Casimir prescribed a fine for the murder of a peasant; and enacted, that, in case of his decease without issue, his next heir should inherit. The same sovereign also decreed, that a peasant was capable of bearing arms as a soldier; and that therefore he ought to be considered as a freeman. But these and other regulations, by which that amiable monarch endeavoured to alleviate the miseries of the vassals, have proved ineffectual against the power and tyranny of the nobles, and have been either abrogated or eluded. That law, which gives the property of a peasant dying with-

out issue to the next of kin, was instantly rendered nugatory by an old Polish maxim, "That no slave can carry on any process against his master;" and even the fine for his murder was seldom levied, on account of the numerous difficulties which attended the conviction of a noble for this or any other enormity. So far, indeed, from being inclined to soften the servitude of their vassals, the nobles have ascertained and established it by repeated and positive ordinances. An able Polish writer, in a benevolent treatise * addressed to the chancellor Zamoiski, observes, that in the statutes of Poland there are above an hundred laws unfavourable to the peasants, which, among other grievances, erect summary tribunals subject to no appeals, and impose the severest penalties upon those who quit their villages without leave. From these numerous and rigorous edicts to prevent the elopement of the peasants, the same humane author justly infers the extreme wretchedness of this oppressed class of men, who cannot be detained in the place of their nativity but by the terror of the severest punishment.

The native peasants may be divided into two sorts: 1. Peasants of the crown; 2. Peasants belonging to individuals.

1. Peasants of the crown are those who are settled in the great fiefs of the kingdom, or in the royal demesnes; and are under the jurisdiction of the starosts. If the crown-peasants are oppressed by these judges, they may lodge a complaint in the royal courts of justice; and, should the starost endeavour to obstruct the process, the king can order the chancellor to issue a safe conduct, by which he takes the injured person under his pro-

* Patriotic Letters.

tection: and although in most cases the corrupt administration of justice, and the superior influence of the starosts, prevent a complainant from obtaining any effectual redress even in the king's courts, yet, the very possibility of procuring relief is some check to injustice, and some alleviation of distress.

2. Peasants belonging to individuals are at the absolute disposal of their master, and have scarcely any positive security, either for their properties or their lives. Until 1768 the statutes of Poland only exacted a fine from a lord who killed his slave; but in that year a decree passed, by which the murder of a peasant was a capital crime; yet, as the law in question requires such an accumulation of evidence * as is seldom to be obtained, it has more the appearance of protection than the reality.

"How deplorable (exclaims the philanthropic Mr. Coxe, from whom we now transcribe) must be the state of that country, where a law of such a nature was thought requisite to be enacted, yet is found incapable of being enforced!" The generality, indeed, of the Polish nobles are not inclined either to establish or give efficacy to any regulations in favour of the peasants, whom they scarcely consider as entitled to the common rights of humanity. A few nobles, however, of benevolent hearts and enlightened understandings, have acted upon different principles; and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shewn this project to be no less judicious than humane; no less

* The murderer must be taken in the fact; which must be proved by two gentlemen or four peasants; and if he is not taken in the fact, and there are not the above-mentioned number of witnesses, he only pays a fine.

friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of their peasants: for it appears that in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages is considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion.

The first noble who granted freedom to his peasants was Zamoiski, formerly great chancellor, who in 1760 enfranchised six villages in the palatinate of Masovia. On inspecting the parish-registers of births from 1750 to 1760, that is, during the ten years of slavery immediately preceding their enfranchisement, the number of births was found to be 414; in the first ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 620; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1777, 585 births.

By these extracts it appears, that during the

First period there were only	43	births	} each year.
Second period	-	-	
Third period	-	-	
		77	

If we suppose an improvement of this sort to take place throughout the kingdom, how great would be the increase of national population!

The revenues of the six villages, since their enfranchisement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In their state of vassalage Zamoiski was obliged, according to the custom of Poland, to build cottages and barns for his peasants; and to furnish them with seed, horses, ploughs, and every implement of agriculture: since their attainment of liberty they are become so easy in their circumstances, as to provide themselves with all these necessaries at their own expence; and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent, in lieu of the manual labour which their master formerly exacted from them.

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By these means the receipts of this particular estate have been nearly tripled.

Upon signing the deed of enfranchisement of the six villages, their benevolent master intimated some apprehensions to the inhabitants, lest, encouraged by their freedom, they should fall into every species of licentiousness, and commit more disorders than when they were slaves. The simplicity and good sense of their answer is remarkable; "When we had no other property," returned they, "than the stick which we hold in our hands, we were destitute of all encouragement to a right conduct; and, having nothing to lose, acted on all occasions in an inconsiderate manner; but now that our houses, our lands, and our cattle, are our own, the fear of forfeiting them will be a constant restraint upon our actions." The sincerity of this assertion was manifested by the event. While they were in a state of servitude, Zamoiski was occasionally obliged to pay fines for disorders committed by his peasants, who, in a state of drunkenness, would attack, and sometimes kill passengers: since their freedom he has seldom received any complaints of this sort against them. These circumstances decisively confute the ill-grounded surmises entertained by many Poles, that their vassals are too licentious and ungovernable not to make an ill use of freedom. Zamoiski, pleased with the thriving state of the six villages, has enfranchised the peasants on all his estates.

The example of Zamoiski has been followed by Chreptowitz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the abbé Bryzotowski, with similar success. The peasants, penetrated with a sense of their master's kindness, have erected, at their own expence, a

pillar, with an inscription expressive of their gratitude and affection.

Prince Stanislaus, nephew to the king of Poland, has warmly patronized the plan of giving liberty to the peasants. His own good sense and natural humanity, improved during his residence in England by a view of that equal liberty which pervades every rank of men, have raised him above the prejudices too prevalent among his countrymen: he has enfranchised four villages not far from Warsaw, in which he has not only emancipated the peasants from their slavery, but even condescends to direct their affairs. He visits their cottages; suggests improvements in agriculture; instructs them in the mode of rearing cattle and bees; and points out the errors into which ignorance and incapacity occasionally betray them.

Still, however, the condition of these peasants is not permanent; for though a lord grants their freedom, yet he cannot entail it upon them, as his successor may again reduce them to their original state of vassalage.

5. In giving an account of the different classes of men who inhabit this country, the Jews form too considerable a part of its present inhabitants not to be particularly mentioned. This people date their introduction into Poland about the time of Casimir the Great; and as they enjoy privileges which they scarcely possess in any other country excepting England and Holland, their numbers have surprizingly increased. Lengnich says of them, that they "monopolize * the commerce and trade of the country; keep the inns and taverns; are stewards to the nobility; and seem to have so

* Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 128.

much influence, that nothing can be bought or sold without the intervention of a Jew." Under John Sobieski they were so highly favoured, that his administration was invidiously called a Jewish junto: he farmed to the Jews the royal demesnes; and put such confidence in them as raised great discontents among the nobility. After his death, an ancient law of Sigismund I. was revived, and inserted in the *Pacta Conventa* of Augustus II. that no Jew or person of low birth should be capable of farming the royal revenues.

In some towns, as at Casimir, Posen, &c. the Jews are permitted to settle, though in other places they are only allowed to reside during the time of fairs, or when the dietines are assembled; but the laws are seldom put in force against them. According to the last capitation * there were 166,871 Jews in Poland, exclusive of Lithuania, who paid the tax: but this cannot be their full complement, as it is their interest to diminish their number; and it is a well-known fact, that they conceal their children as much as possible. Perhaps the following calculations will assist us in this research. Of 2,580,796 inhabitants in Austrian Poland, 144,200, or about an eighteenth, were Jews. The eighteenth of the present population of Poland will give near 500,000: allowing, therefore, for omissions in the capitation, as well as for those who migrated into Poland from the Russian dismembered provinces, the number of Jews may fairly be estimated at 600,000.

It is not unworthy of observation, that while the feudal laws, formerly so universal, and of which some traces are still to be discovered in most countries, have been gradually abolished in

* All Jews, as well male as female, pay an annual poll-tax.

other nations, and given place to a more regular and just administration; yet in Poland a variety of circumstances has concurred to prevent their abolition, and to preserve that mixture of liberty and oppression, order and anarchy, which so strongly characterized the feudal government. We may easily trace in this constitution all the striking features of that system. The principal are, an elective monarchy with a circumscribed power; the great officers of state possessing their charges for life, and independent of the king's authority: royal fiefs; the great nobility above controul; the nobles or gentry alone free and possessing lands; feudal tenures, military services, territorial jurisdiction; commerce degrading; oppressed condition of the burghers; vassalage of the peasants. These evils, which are still existing in Poland, may be considered as the radical causes of its decline; for they have prevented the Poles from adopting those more stable regulations, which tend to introduce order and good government, to augment commerce, and to increase population.

SECT. XXV.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT.

POLAND has been called both a kingdom and a republic; but differs little in reality from an aristocracy. It is, however, stiled a republic by the Poles themselves in all their public acts of state. The supreme legislative power is lodged in the three estates of the realm, viz. 1. The King; 2. The Senate; and, 3. The Nobles or Gentry, representatives of the equestrian order, convened in a national diet. The executive power, which was hereto-

heretofore entrusted to the king and senate, is now, according to the new form of government, vested in the supreme permanent council, composed of the king, and a certain number of members, elected every two years in the diet, by the majority of voices.

The general diet of Poland enjoys, as before observed, the supreme authority: it declares war, makes peace, levies soldiers, enters into alliances, imposes taxes, enacts laws; in a word, it exercises all the rights of absolute sovereignty.

Some historians place the earliest diet in the reign of Casimir the Great; but it is very uncertain whether it was first convened in his time; and still more doubtful of what members it consisted. Thus much, however, is unquestionable, that it was not until the reign of Casimir III. that this national assembly was modelled into its present form.

The place of holding the diets depended formerly upon the will of the kings; and Louis even summoned two in Hungary. In those early times Petricau was the town in which they were most frequently assembled; but in 1569, at the union of Poland and Lithuania, Warsaw was appointed the place of meeting; and in 1673, it was enacted, that of three successive diets, two should be held in this capital, and one at Grodno in Lithuania. This regulation has been generally followed, until the reign of his present Majesty, wherein the assemblies have been uniformly summoned to Warsaw.

Diets are ordinary and extraordinary; the former are convened every two years, the latter as occasion requires. In 1717 the usual season for the meeting of the ordinary diets was fixed for Michaelmas; but during the present reign it has
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been occasionally changed to the month of October or November.

The king, with the advice of the permanent council, convokes the diet, by means of circular letters issued to all the Palatines in their respective provinces, at least six weeks before the time appointed for its meeting: these letters are accompanied with a short sketch of the business to be agitated in the diet.

The constituent parts of the diet are the three estates of the realm, namely,

The king,

The senate, and

The nobles or gentry, by their nuntios or representatives.

I. The king, considered in his capacity as president, is only, as it were, the chief of the diet: he subscribes all acts; signs all decrees agreed to by the assembly; issues out all ordinances in his own name and that of the republic, without enjoying the right of a negative in any of those particulars. He has no vote, excepting upon an equality of suffrages; but is at liberty to deliver his sentiments upon all questions. His present majesty is esteemed one of the most eloquent among the Polish orators; he has an agreeable tone of voice, and is much skilled in suiting and varying his cadence to the subjects of his discourse: he harangues with great energy of style and dignity of manner; and his speeches always make a considerable impression upon the members of the diet. When he is disposed to speak, he rises from his seat, advances a few steps, and cries out, "I summon the ministers of state to the throne." Then the great officers of the crown, who are sitting at the lower end of the senate-house, come forward and stand near the king. The four great
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marshals strike the ground at the same time with their staffs of office; and the first in rank says, "The king is going to speak;" after which his majesty begins.

II. The second estate, or the senate, is composed of spiritual and temporal senators.

1. The bishops, or senators spiritual, have the precedence over the temporal senators. The archbishop of Gnesna is primate and chief of the senate, and viceroy in case of an interregnum.

2. The temporals are Palatines, Castellans, and the great officers of state. The palatines are the governors of the provinces, who hold their offices for life. In time of war, when the army of the republic is summoned, the palatines levy and lead the force of their palatinates into the field, according to the tenure of feudal services; in time of peace, they convoke the assemblies of the palatinates, preside in the county courts of justice, and judge the Jews within their respective jurisdictions, &c. The castellans are divided into grand and petty castellans: their office, in time of peace, is merely nominal; but when the military or feudal services are required, they are the lieutenants of the palatines, under whom they command the troops of the several districts in the palatinates.

The ministers of state, who sit in the senate, are sixteen in number; namely, the two great marshals of Poland and Lithuania, the two sub-marshals, the two great chancellors, the two vice-chancellors, the two great generals, the two lesser generals, the two great treasurers, and the two sub-treasurers.

All the senators were formerly appointed by the king; but by the late change of government, his majesty's choice is restricted to one of three candidates presented by the permanent council. The
senators,

senators, once nominated, cannot be deprived of their charges, except by the diet.

III. The third estate is formed by the nuntios or representatives of the equestrian order. These representatives are chosen in the dietines or assemblies of each palatinate, in which every noble or gentleman, at the age of eighteen, has a vote, or is capable of being elected. There is no qualification in point of property required, either for the electors or elected; it is only necessary that the nuntio should be a noble; that is, a person not engaged in trade or commerce, possessing land himself, or the son of a person possessing land, or of an ancient family which formerly possessed land. Each nuntio must be twenty-three years of age.

The general proceedings of the diet are as follow: The king, senate, and nuntios, first meet all together in the cathedral of Warsaw, and hear mass and a sermon. After service, the members of the senate, or upper house, repair to the senate-house; and the nuntios, or lower house, to their chamber, when the latter choose, by a majority of voices, a marshal, or speaker of the equestrian order: in order to preclude unnecessary delays, the election is required to take place within three days after the meeting *. Two days after

* Formerly, it being stipulated that the election of the marshal should take place as soon as possible, in most diets much time elapsed before a marshal was chosen; and as the sitting of the national assembly was confined to six weeks, it sometimes happened that the nuntios could never agree in the choice; and several diets broke up without transacting any business. Connor, who visited Poland in John Sobieski's reign, says upon this head, "He that designs to be elected marshal, must treat the gentry all the while, otherwise he would have no vote for him; and commonly they prolong the election, that they may live the longer at the candidate's charges." V. ii. p. 92.

In order to remedy this inconvenience, it was enacted in 1690, that the marshal must be chosen on the first day of the meeting; but
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after the choice of their speaker, the king, senate, and nuntios, assemble in the senate-house, which is called the junction of the two houses. The nuntios then kiss the king's hand; and the members of the diet take their places in the following order:

The king is seated, in regal state, upon a raised throne, under a canopy at the upper end of the apartment. At the lower end, opposite the throne, sit in armed chairs the ministers of state. The bishops, palatines, and castellans, are ranged in three rows of armed chairs, extending from the throne on each side; and behind these are placed the nuntios upon benches covered with red cloth. The senators have the privilege of wearing their caps, but the nuntios remain uncovered.

All the members being seated, the *Paſſa Conventa* are read *; when the speaker of the equestrian

in 1768, the time allowed for the election was extended to three days.

* Louis king of Hungary, who succeeded to the crown of Poland 1370, being a foreigner, was obliged, in order to insure the possession of the throne, to subscribe certain conditions, which infringed the power of the sovereign, and gave fresh vigour to that of the barons and inferior nobles. The principal concessions made by Louis were, not to impose any additional taxes by his mere regal authority without the consent of the nation; and that in case of his demise without male heirs, the privilege of appointing a sovereign should revert to the nobles at large. In consequence of this agreement, Louis was allowed to ascend the throne without opposition; and having no sons, he, with a view of insuring the succession to his son-in-law the emperor Sigismund, married to his eldest daughter Maria, promised, in addition to all the former grants, to diminish the taxes, to repair the fortresses at his own expence, and to confer no dignities or offices upon foreigners. At the demise of Sigismund Augustus, in 1572, when all title to the crown from hereditary right was formally abrogated, and the most absolute freedom of election established upon the most permanent basis, a charter of immunities was drawn up at a general diet, a ratification of which it was determined to exact from the new sovereign, prior to his election. The ground-work of this charter, termed in the Polish law *Paſſa Conventa*, was the whole body of privileges obtained from Louis and

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trian order, as well as each nuntio, is empowered to interrupt the perusal by remonstrating against the infringement of any particular article, and demanding at the same time a redress of grievances. Then the great chancellor proposes, in the king's name, the questions to be taken into consideration; after which, his majesty nominates three senators, and the speaker six nuntios, to prepare the bills. The diet, also, by majority of voices, chooses a committee to examine the accounts of the treasury.

These preliminary transactions ought to be dispatched in the space of three weeks; at which period the two houses separate: the nuntios retire into their own chamber, and all the bills undergo a separate discussion in both houses. Those which relate to the treasury, are approved or rejected by the sentiments of the majority. But in all state-matters * of the highest importance no resolution of the diet is valid, unless ratified by the unanimous assent of every nuntio; each of whom is

his successors, with the following additions: 1. That the king should be elective, and that his successor should never be appointed during his life; 2. That the diets, the holding of which depended solely upon the will of the kings, should be assembled every two years; 3. That every noble or gentleman in the whole realm should have a vote in the diet of election; 4. That, in case the king should infringe the laws and privileges of the nation, his subjects should be absolved from their oaths of allegiance. From this period the *Pacta Conventa*, occasionally enlarged, have been confirmed by every sovereign at his coronation.

* Matters of state are thus defined by the constitution of 1768. 1. Increase or alteration of the taxes; 2. Augmentation of the army; 3. Treaties of alliance and peace with the neighbouring powers; 4. Declaration of war; 5. Naturalization and creation of nobility; 6. Reduction of the coin; 7. Augmentation or diminution in the charges of the tribunals, or in the authority of the ministers of peace and war; 8. Creation of places; 9. Order of holding the diets or dietines; 10. Alterations in the tribunals; 11. Augmentation of the prerogatives of the *senatus-consulta*; 12. Permission to the king to purchase lands for his successors; 13. *Arrier-han*, or summoning the nobles to arms. In all these cases unanimity is requisite.

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able to suspend all proceedings by his exertion of the *Liberum Veto*.

The diet must not sit longer than six weeks : on the first day, therefore, of the sixth week the senate and nuntios meet again in the senate-house. The state-bills (provided they are unanimously agreed to by the nuntios, an event which seldom happens in a free diet) are passed into laws ; but if that unanimity be wanting to them, they stand rejected ; and the business relating to the treasury, which has been carried by a majority, is read and registered.

At the conclusion of the sixth week the laws, which have passed, are signed by the speaker and nuntios ; and the diet is of course dissolved.

The extraordinary diets are subject to the same regulations as the ordinary diets, with this difference, that they cannot, by the constitutions of 1768, continue longer than a fortnight. The same day in which the two houses assemble in the senate-house, the questions are to be laid before them ; and the nuntios return immediately to their own chamber. On the thirteenth day from their first meeting, the two houses are again united ; and on the fifteenth day, after the laws have been read and signed, the diet breaks up as usual.

The most extraordinary characteristic in the constitution of Poland, and which seems peculiarly to distinguish this government from all others both in ancient and modern times, is the *Liberum Veto*, or the power which each nuntio enjoys in a free diet *, not only like the tribunes of ancient Rome, of putting a negative upon any law, but

* A free diet, in which unanimity is requisite, is distinguished from a diet of confederacy, in which all business is carried by the majority.

even of dissolving the assembly. That every member of a numerous society should be invested with such a dangerous privilege, in the midst of the most important national transactions, is a circumstance in itself so incredible, as to deserve a minute inquiry into the causes which introduced a custom so pregnant with anarchy, and so detrimental to public welfare.

The privilege in question is not to be found in any period of the Polish history antecedent to the reign of John Casimir. It was under his administration, that in the year 1652, when the diet of Warsaw was debating upon transactions of the utmost importance, which required a speedy determination, that Sicinski, nuntio of Upita in Lithuania, cried out, "I stop the proceedings*." Having uttered these words, he quitted the assembly, and, repairing immediately to the chancellor, protested, that as many acts had been proposed and carried contrary to the constitution of the republic, if the diet continued to sit, he should consider it as an infringement of the laws. The members were thunderstruck at a protest of this nature, hitherto unknown. Warm debates took place about the propriety of continuing or dissolving the diet: at length, however, the venal and discontented faction, who supported the protest, obtained the majority; and the assembly broke up in great confusion.

This transaction changed entirely the constitution of Poland, and gave an unlimited scope to misrule and faction. The causes (says Mr. Coxe) which induced the Poles to acquiesce in establishing the *Liberum Veto*, thus casually introduced, were probably the following:

* Leng. Jus Pub. v. ii. p. 255.

1. It was the interest of the great officers of state, particularly the great general, the great treasurer, and great marshal, in whose hands were vested the administration of the army, the finances, and the police, to abridge the sitting of the diet. These great officers of state, being once nominated by the king, enjoyed their appointments for life, totally independent of his authority, and liable to no controul during the intervals of the diets, to which alone they were responsible. This powerful body accordingly strongly espoused the *Liberum Veto*; conscious that they could easily, and at all times, secure a nuntio to protest; and by that means elude all inquiry into their administration.

2. By a fundamental law of the republic, nobles accused of certain capital crimes could only be brought to trial before the diet; and as, at the period just mentioned, many persons stood under that description, all these and their adherents naturally favoured an expedient tending to dissolve the only tribunal by which they could be convicted and punished.

3. The exigencies of the state, occasioned by the continual wars in which Poland had been engaged, demanded, at this particular crisis, an imposition of several heavy taxes: and as the sole power of levying all pecuniary aids resided in the diet; all the nuntios, who opposed the raising of additional subsidies, seconded the proposal for shortening the duration of that assembly.

4. But the principal reason, which carried through, and afterwards supported the power of dissolving diets, is to be derived from the influence of some of the great neighbouring powers, interested to foment anarchy and confusion in the Polish counsels. Before this period, if they wished to form a cabal, and to carry any point in the national assembly, they were obliged to secure a

majority of votes : under the new arrangement they were able to attain their end on much easier terms ; and to put an end to any diet unfriendly to their views, by the corruption of a single member.

The bad effects of the *Liberum Veto* were soon felt by the nation to such an alarming degree, that all the members in the diet of 1670 bound themselves by an oath not to exert it ; and even passed a resolution that it should be entirely void of effect during the continuance of that meeting. Notwithstanding, however, these salutary precautions, one Zabokrziski, nuntio from the palatinate of Bratlaw, interposing his negative, brought this very diet to a premature dissolution.

This *Liberum Veto*, indeed, has been always considered by the most intelligent Poles as one of the principal causes which has contributed to the decline of their country. From the æra of its establishment public business has continually suffered the most fatal interruption ; it abruptly broke up seven diets in the reign of John Casimir, four under Michael, seven under John Sobieski, and thirty during the reigns of the two Augusti ; so that, within the space of 112 years, 48 diets have been precipitately dissolved by its operation ; during which period Poland has continued almost without laws, without justice, and, excepting the reign of John Sobieski, with few symptoms of military vigour. Yet so strongly did the motives above displayed attach the Poles to this pernicious privilege, that in the act of confederacy, framed in 1696, after the decease of John Sobieski, the *Liberum Veto* is called the dearest and most invaluable palladium of Polish liberty.

The Poles, however, having fatally experienced the disorders arising from the *Liberum Veto*,

would

would certainly have abolished it, if they had not been prevented by the partitioning powers; and it still exists in its full force. It should be observed, that neither the king nor the senate, but only the nuntios, enjoy the power of interposing this negative upon the proceedings of the diet.

It will naturally occur to the reader to ask, if every representative possesses the *Liberum Veto*, how can any transaction be carried on? or how is it possible that any one bill should pass into a law? for no motion can be conceived which is not liable to be opposed by the intrigues of party, or the jealousy of the neighbouring powers. In order, therefore, to avoid the anarchy attendant upon free diets through the operation of the *Liberum Veto*, the Poles have lately had recourse to diets by confederacy; which, though composed of the same members, and held under the same exterior forms as free diets, differ from them in the essential circumstance of allowing business to be determined by the plurality of votes. These diets have long been known to the constitution, and have at times been used upon extraordinary emergencies; but within these few years they have been regularly held at the stated times for summoning ordinary diets. Indeed, according to the true principles of the Polish government, no confederacy ought to be entered into, excepting upon the following occasions: in defence of the king's person, upon any foreign invasion or domestic conspiracy; and during an interregnum at the diets of convocation and election *. But as no other means have been found to prevent perpetual anarchy, the nation is

* It is decreed, however, by the code of 1768, that in every diet of convocation all state matters must pass unanimously.

obliged to submit to an infringement of the constitution, which operates for the general good *.

PLACE AND MODE OF REGAL ELECTION.

The spot, which is settled by the constitution for the place of election, is the plain of Vola, about three miles from the capital. In the midst of this plain are two enclosures of ground, one for the senate, and the other for the nuntios. The former is of an oblong shape, surrounded by a kind of rampart or ditch; in the midst of which is erected, at the time of election, a temporary building of wood, called *szopa*, covered at top and open at the sides. Near it is the other enclosure for the nuntios, of a circular shape, from which it derives its name of *kola* or circle; within this there is no building erected, the nuntios assembling in the open air. When the two chambers are joined, they meet within the *kola*, the senators chairs and the benches for the nuntios being ranged in the same regular order as in the senate-house at Warsaw, while the seat of the primate is placed in the middle.

But before we describe the election, it may be necessary to give a short detail of the principal occurrences which precede that ceremony.

Upon the king's demise the interregnum commences: the regal authority is then vested in the archbishop of Gnesna, primate of Poland, as interrex or regent. He announces the death of the king by circular letters, convokes the dietines and diets of convocation; and, in a word, performs

* But as it is enacted by the diet of 1768, that all matters of state must be carried unanimously in free diets, we should presume that the diets by confederacy only transact the common business, without making any new laws, or repealing old statutes.

all the functions of royalty during the vacancy in the throne.

The diet, which is first convened upon the sovereign's decease, is called the diet of convocation; and is always held at Warsaw, previous to the diet of election, which assembles in the plain of Vola. The sovereign authority resides in this assembly, in the same manner as in those which are summoned while the throne is filled. The primate presides like the king, with this difference, that he does not place himself upon the throne, but sits in an armed chair stationed in the middle of the senate-house. The diet issues out acts or ordinances, arranges or changes the form of government, settles the *Pacta Conventa*, and appoints the meeting of the diet of election. The interval between the death of the king and the nomination of his successor is uncertain; its longer or shorter duration depending upon the intrigues and cabals of the candidates, or the pleasure of those foreign powers, who give law to Poland. It is always a state of turbulence and licentiousness; the kingdom is divided into parties and factions; justice is in a manner suspended; and the nobles commit every disorder with impunity.

Unanimity being requisite in all matters of state*, it is easy to conceive the delays and cabals, the influence and corruption, employed to gain the members in the diet of convocation. As soon as all the points are adjusted, whether the acts have passed unanimously or otherwise, the mem-

* This unanimity, in fact, does not exist; for the strongest side forces the weaker to accede or to retire. Yet in the diet of 1768 it was enacted, that in the diets of convocation state questions could only be carried unanimously. Several diets of convocation have been frequently assembled before all the affairs could be finally arranged.

bers, previous to their separation, enter into a general confederacy to support and maintain the resolutions of the diet.

At the appointed day the diet of election is assembled, during which Warsaw and its environs is a scene of confusion, and frequently of bloodshed. The chief nobility have large bodies of troops in their service, and repair to the diet attended by their numerous vassals and a large retinue of domestics; while each petty baron, who can afford to maintain them, parades about with his retainers and slaves.

On the day on which the diet of election is opened, the primate, senate, and nobility, repair to the cathedral of Warsaw, to hear mass and a sermon; from whence they proceed in due order to the plain of Vola. The senators enter the *szopa*, and the nuntios take their places within the *kola*; while the other nobles are stationed in the plain. The senate and the nuntios, after having passed their respective resolutions, as in the ordinary diets, assemble together in the *kola*, when the primate, seated in the middle, lays before them the objects to be taken into consideration; the *Paſta Conventa*, settled at the diet of convocation, are read and approved, all necessary arrangements made, and the day of election appointed. The diet then gives audience to the foreign ministers, who are permitted by recommendation to interfere in the choice of a king, and to the advocates of the several candidates. All these affairs take up several days; and would perhaps never be terminated, as unanimity is requisite, if the assembly were not overawed by the foreign troops, who are always quartered near the plain of election.

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Upon the day appointed for the election, the senate and nuntios assemble, as before, in the *kola*, while the nobles are ranged in the open field in separate bodies, according to their several palatinates, with standards borne before them, and the principal officers of each district on horseback. The primate, having declared the names of the candidates, kneels down and chaunts a hymn; after which the senators and nuntios join the gentry of their respective palatinates: then the primate, on horseback, or in a carriage, goes round the plain to the different bodies of the gentry as they are stationed according to their palatinates; and, having collected their votes, proclaims the successful candidate. Each noble does not give his vote separately, for that would be endless; but when the primate goes round, the collective body of each palatinate name the person they espouse. At the conclusion of this ceremony the assembly breaks up.

On the following day the senate and nuntios return to the plain; the successful candidate is again proclaimed, and a deputy dispatched to acquaint him of his election, as no candidate is allowed to be present. After the proclamation, the gentry retire; and the diet, having appointed the diet of coronation, is dissolved.

All elections are contested: not indeed upon the spot; for the terror of a neighbouring army has, for some time past, forced the nobles to appear unanimous. But the party who dissent, retiring from the plain, remonstrate; and if they are sufficiently strong, a civil war ensues. Indeed the confusion, disorder, and bloodshed which formerly attended these popular elections, would still be renewed, if it were not for the interference of foreign troops: and thus
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the country draws some advantage from an evil, which is considered by the Poles as the disgrace and scandal of every election.

Such are the outlines of this motley constitution, which was new-modelled with almost every new king, according to the *Pacta Conventa* he is obliged to sign. There has been lately a total dissolution of all order in Poland, through the influence of some of the neighbouring powers interested to foment anarchy and confusion in the Polish councils; and many of the first nobility do not blush to receive pensions from foreign courts. In this sketch, however, we can discern the great outlines of a noble and free government. The precautions taken to limit the king's power, and yet invest him with an ample prerogative, were worthy a wise people. The institution of the diet and dietines are favourable to public liberty, as are many other provisions in the republic: but it laboured, even in its best state, under incurable disorders. The exercise of the *Veto*, the tribunal negative that is vested in every nuntio, exclusive of the king and senate, at a diet, must always be destructive of order and government. It is founded upon Gothic principles, and that unlimited jurisdiction which the great lords in former ages used to enjoy all over Europe. The want of subordination in the executive parts of the constitution, and the rendering noblemen independent and unaccountable for their conduct, is a blemish impracticable to remove. After all, when we examine the best accounts of the present constitution of Poland, and compare them with the ancient history of Great Britain, and other European kingdoms,

kingdoms, we may perceive a wonderful similitude between what these were formerly, and what Poland is at present. This naturally leads us to infer, that the government of Poland cannot be otherwise improved than by the introduction of arts, manufactures, and commerce, which would render the common people independent on the nobility, and prevent the latter from having it in their power to annoy their sovereign, or to maintain those unequal privileges which are so hurtful to the community.

THE



THE
HISTORY
OF
POLAND.

SECT. I.

TO a great kingdom, like Poland, struggling in a contest with numerous and powerful oppressors, if the policy of the English nation does not prescribe, or its resources will not admit of, an armed assistance, the humanity of individuals may lament its fate, and the liberal mind of the historian do justice to the bravery with which its people assert and defend their natural, national, and unalienable rights.

Of the early history of any country it is difficult to acquire authentic information. We generally find it either enveloped in impervious obscurity, or decorated with the insubstantial ornament of fable and invention. The affairs of this country therefore, during the early reigns, will be treated with a brevity which, it is presumed, the reader will not regret, who considers that little interest can arise in the mind from perusing

rufing a detail of favage inroads, and little advantage be derived to fcience from the conduct of wars or negociations between barbarian monarchs. As we approach modern ages, however we fhall endeavour to trace with an impartial hand the progrefs of events much more important, as having led in fome degree to the prefent ftate of Europe.

The fovereign princes of Poland are ufually confidered under four claffes; that is to fay,

I. Of the Houfe of LESZKO.

II. - - - of PIAST.

III. - - - of JAGELLO, or
JAGHELLON.

IV. Of different families.

S E C T. I.

SOVEREIGNS OF THE FAMILY OF LESZKO.

THE Vandals or Veneti were, undoubtedly, the ancient inhabitants of Poland, which was the Sarmatia Europæa of the Romans.

Before the fixth century, while the Poles were yet Sarmatians, they had no kings, but lived without government, in mountains and forefts, having no habitations but waggons; always meditating fome new invafion; though bad troops for foot fervice, yet excellent cavalry. It is fuprizing, that a barbarous people, without a leader, and without laws, fhould ftretch their empire from the Tanais to the Viftula, and from the Euxine Sea to the Baltic: boundaries prodigioufly diftant from each other, and which they enlarged ftill farther by the acquifition of Bohemia, Moravia, Silefia, Lufatia, Mifnia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania,

merania, and the marches of Brandenburg; and even the Romans, to whom so large a part of the world submitted, never penetrated into Sarmatia.

This historical paradox shews what can be done by strength of body, a habit of living hardly, a natural love of liberty, and a savage instinct, which supplies the place of kings and laws. The Sarmatians were called robbers by civilized nations, who forgot that they themselves had begun in the same manner.

About the year 550, Leck, or Lecht, formed a design of civilizing the Sarmatians, though but a Sarmatian himself. He began by cutting down trees, and erecting himself a dwelling. Other huts were soon raised round this model; the nation, hitherto erratic, became fixed; and Gnesna, the first city of Poland, took the place of a forest. The Sarmatians seem scarcely to have known what eagles were, since we are told, that from their finding several nests of these birds in the trees which were cut down upon this occasion, the eagle came to be painted upon the Polish standards. Leck soon drew the eyes of his equals upon him, and by displaying talents fit for government as well as action, he became their master, and with the powers of a monarch assumed the title of duke.

Though the actual existence of this prince be pretty well ascertained, yet his demise leaves a chasm in history which imagination has supplied; and if our studies are not improved, if science gains no acquisition, our minds may derive a temporary amusement from the account which pride or superstition has fabricated, and tradition piously transmitted from one age to another as the early political state of Poland.

Leck

Leck is said to have left the government to his son Wissimir, who founded the city of Dantzica. No traces, however, can be found in history of any actions that were performed by the posterity of these two first sovereigns of Poland, and it is a void which even fiction itself has never attempted to fill up. It only supposes, that the nation, after the extinction of the royal family, assembled for the election of new masters, and that the nobility were on the point of proceeding to this choice, when the people, who had long been harassed with the tyranny of their last kings, demanded an abolition of the regal government, that they might no longer depend on the caprice of one man.

The great lords, allured by the hopes of sharing all the honours of dominion, were easily induced to comply with the solicitations of the people; in consequence of which they established a republic, the administration whereof was intrusted with twelve Palatines. The unsteady people, however, were soon dissatisfied with this new plan of government; an anarchy, its almost inevitable consequence, inspired them with aversion to their state of independence, and a number of enemies, who were always ready to derive advantages from the troubles of the state, and the conjunctures of those times, ravaged the provinces with impunity, and made the nation pay very dear for the fatal liberty they had acquired.

The eyes of the people were at last opened to their real interest, and they judged it would be most advantageous to them to have but one master. This consideration induced them to turn their thoughts to the election of a king, but a choice of this nature was attended with great difficulties. The state of their affairs required
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some martial spirit to repel the invasions of the neighbouring people, as well as to re-conquer the territories that had been wrested from them by usurpations, and to re-establish the honour of the nation. It was likewise necessary that this hero should temper an intrepidity of mind with the softness of a prudent charity, in order to gain upon those dispositions which had been rendered intractable by a long state of independence; and it was also thought requisite, that the virtue of this future prince should afford them a sufficient security for his proper use of that supreme power with which they had an inclination to entrust him.

These qualities are seldom united in one man; the Poles however found one of their countrymen who possessed them in an equal degree. GRACK, (or, as he is called by some writers, CRACUS,) was the name of this virtuous person, who brought the calamities of Poland to a happy period. As he was always victorious in the wars he undertook, and as he likewise guided the reins of government with a consummate prudence, he at the same time rendered himself dear to his people and formidable to his enemies. He built the city of Cracow on the Weiffel, and Bohemia submitted to the laws of so accomplished a prince*.

LECK II. became his successor, in consequence of a crime, for he secretly destroyed Grack, his elder brother, and ascended his father's throne, as well by the choice of the nobility, as by virtue of the right he claimed to the succession. All his subjects submitted to his authority while his crime was undiscovered; but as

* His reign is thought to be coincident with the beginning of the 7th century.

soon as it was detected, the lords would no longer suffer the assassin of his own brother to sit upon the throne he had usurped, and to grasp the reins of government with those hands that were polluted with the blood of their lawful prince. He was chased from the kingdom in a degrading manner, and, according to some authors, died without leaving any children.

After the death of the two sons of Grack, the Poles were desirous of submitting to the government of his daughter VANDA, a very amiable princess, graced with the accomplishments of eloquence, wisdom, and courage, to a degree uncommon in her sex. She reigned with glory, and amidst the tranquillity of a profound peace, when a German prince Ritiger is said to have sent ambassadors to her to treat of a marriage, and to denounce war against her dominions if she should reject his offers. Vanda, according to some historians, had rendered herself incapable of the nuptial state, by a vow of virginity which she had made to the gods of her country. She, therefore, prepared for war, assembled her troops, animated them by her presence and discourse; broke the measures of her enemy, opposed his incursions, and constrained him, at last, to come to a conference. Her beauty and her eloquence enchanted the hostile troops; the commanders refused to combat against so amiable a princess; the soldiers quitted their ranks, the most savage among them were disarmed of their rage, their chief himself was forsaken by all his troops, and, yielding to the impressions of confusion and despair, plunged his sword into his own breast as a punishment for his temerity.

The princess was easily induced to pardon the foes she had thus vanquished, and, satisfied with securing

securing the repose of her subjects, she repaired to Cracow, to receive their applause in that city, where they decreed her the honour of a triumph. Vanda, however, became an enthusiast after this great event; she considered it as an evidence of the favour of her tutelar gods, and imagined it was incumbent on her to testify her gratitude by a strange sacrifice, in which she herself was the victim. She threw herself into the Weiffel.

The Poles, a second time destitute of a master, had again an inclination to enjoy the sweets of independency. Though liberty had already proved so fatal to them, they were allured by the pleasures they proposed to enjoy by changing their state, and they resumed the republican form of government. Poland was then divided into twelve Palatinates, the administration of which was committed to the same number of lords, who were chosen to dispense justice to the people, and to defend them against the enemies of their state.

This new change was productive of new calamities; and the Polish arms were not very prosperous under the conduct of the Palatines. The republic was destitute of force and troops, and seemed in danger of being overwhelmed by the enemies that surrounded it. One man alone had the address and courage to rectify these disorders and to raise the state to its ancient glory. PREMISLAUS, or LESZKO I. a private soldier, but whom an intrepidity of mind, aided by long experience, had exalted above his natural condition, was the deliverer of his country. This brave man having observed, that the Hungarians, who imagined they had nothing more to conquer, kept but a very slender guard in their camp, drew together some of his friends, represented

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their

their calamities to them in a lively manner, acquainting them, at the same time, with the security into which their enemies were sunk, and the facility of gaining a complete victory over them; and he engaged them to be his companions in an enterprize that was rendered happy by a laudable temerity. He divided his troop into several small bodies, after which he chose a dark night for the execution of his design; and the horrors of the gloom being intermixed with the confusion usually created by surprises of this nature, the enemies were seized with consternation, and multitudes perished by the valour of the assailants. All his attacks succeeded to his wish; he broke into their camp from several quarters, and the whole was a scene of flight and slaughter. A rich booty was the first reward of this heroic action; Premislaus was afterwards crowned, and the people were content to own their deliverer for their master.

The valour alone of Premislaus had advanced him to the throne; but fortune prepared him a successor. This prince dying without issue, several lords aspired to the supreme power, and, in consequence of their cabals, different parties were formed, whose mutual animosities threatened the nation with a civil war. The Poles, in order to prevent this calamity, assembled together, and unanimously agreed to acknowledge him for their prince, who should surpass all his competitors in the swiftness of his horses. They fixed on this expedient as the most effectual for the prevention of fraud; notwithstanding which, a Polish lord, named Leszeck, entertained hopes of rendering his ambition successful by the aid of art. With this view he caused several iron spikes to be privately scattered over the field where the race was
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to be performed, and only reserved a clear path for himself, which he had made distinguishable by some particular marks. The fraudulent design however was rendered ineffectual, for the stratagem was discovered by a youth, whose great qualities were obscured by the meanness of his birth and profession. He, however, did not immediately divulge what he had discovered, either through fear of ill-treatment, or in hope of deriving some advantageous consequence from it.

The day appointed for the race arrived, and with inexpressible astonishment the people beheld all the competitors remain motionless in the midst of their career, or thrown into the dust by their horses, while Leszeck alone launched with velocity to the pillar that served as a boundary to the course, and at which he arrived in a few moments. The people had already proclaimed him for their king, when the unknown youth who had discovered the artifice, and advanced to the barrier soon after Leszeck, had the courage to contest his pretensions with him, by disclosing the fraud. The dishonourable expedient practised by the Polish lord being rendered evident, all his rivals over whom he had triumphed rose against him with an air of indignation; the exasperated people condemned him to die on the spot, and by the effect of a strange caprice, which however was worthy of a confused multitude, they immediately crowned the informer.

The Poles were happy under the government of this new prince, to whom they gave the appellation of LESZKO II. a name then common among this people. He repelled the enemies of the state, and carried the war into the heart of their country. The Bohemians and Moravians were made sensible of the prosperity

that attended his arms, and he was either feared, or respected by all the neighbouring nations. Not a warrior only, he possessed all the virtues of a great prince. Merit was always rewarded in his reign; he approved himself the father and protector of his people, and never suffered his original condition to be erased from his remembrance. To secure himself from all impressions of pride, indeed, it is said he caused the despicable habit he wore before the Poles arrayed him with the royal purple, to be constantly carried before him in all public ceremonies.

Some authors have thought that LESZKO II. was defeated by Charlemagne, and that he lost his life in a combat with one of the sons of that emperor. But however that may be, he was succeeded by his son LESZKO III. who supported by his virtue his own reputation and that of his father. When he had conquered a band of rebels, who made an insurrection in Poland, he assisted his neighbours who were invaded by the Greeks; and the succours he afforded them were so powerful, that Pannonia was indebted to him for the liberty it afterwards enjoyed. This prince had only one legitimate son, named Popiel; but a great number of natural sons, whom he invested with the sovereignty of several provinces, which they were to hold as homagers to the crown of Poland, and to their brother, who ascended the throne after LESZKO's death, by the unanimous consent of the nobility.

POPIEL I. was a pacific prince, destitute of all ambition. He never had recourse to arms, but with a view to defend his frontiers; and, confining himself to the administration of the interior parts of his kingdom, he enjoyed a repose to which he was naturally devoted. He transferred
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the seat of his empire from Cracow to Gnesna, and from this last city to Crusvicia, or Cruswick, a village in Cujavia, which he had newly founded, and which at present is only known by its ancient reputation.

The minority of his son POPIEL II. was passed without any commotions, by virtue of the prudent administration of the uncles of the young prince. But they received a very unsuitable compensation for their services, and were treated with the basest ingratitude by their sovereign when he entered upon his majority. He was born with a malignant disposition, which was unfortunately cherished by the artifices of an ambitious woman, who left nothing unattempted to remove his uncles from him, and at last accomplished their destruction. The weak and voluptuous prince suffered himself to be the more easily wrought upon by her insinuations, because the remonstrances he had received from his uncles, on the subject of his unmanly behaviour, became insupportable to him. He pretended, therefore, to be indisposed, and, under the pretext of engaging their attendance at court, inhumanly caused a poisoned cup, which he had prepared for that purpose, to be presented to each of them at a banquet.

Popiel endeavoured to palliate this detestable action, by creating a belief that he had only prevented their pernicious designs, and extinguished a formidable conspiracy which they had formed against his life and crown. He even refused to permit the last offices to be rendered them, and extended his inhumanity beyond death itself. But these disfigured remains of his uncles produced the just avengers of his crimes. An army of rats, if we may credit some historians, rose from the
G 4 putrefaction

putrefaction of the dead bodies, and marched to the very throne, in order to execute the justice of Heaven on Popiel, his consort, and children; and it was impossible to chase them away, either by arms, or fire, or water. The whole royal family are said to have become the prey of these avenging animals.

The subjects of Popiel also were punished for his offence, but the mode of their chastisement is much more credible than that of their prince. After Popiel's death, Poland, being destitute of a chief, became the theatre of a most sanguinary war. The nobility, disunited among themselves, contributed to the destruction of the state by their divisions. Different factions were daily promoted, and the weakest became a prey to the most potent. The enemies of the nation improved these disorders to their own advantage, and soon appeared in the field, with a resolution to crush the victorious as well as the vanquished.

The nobility, however, were more affected by the apprehensions of a foreign war, than with all the horrors of civil commotions. A regard to the general welfare reunited them against the common enemy, and extinguished their particular divisions. But the state of affairs at that time required a prince capable of making his authority respected, in order to associate these chiefs, who were independent of one another, and who were equally ambitious to command the army. Several assemblies had been held for the election of a sovereign, but they had always proved ineffectual.

The deputies of the nation had assembled at Crusvicia for a considerable time, without being able to agree in their choice of a prince. The great number of people whom the election had drawn

drawn together in that city created at length such a scarcity of provisions, that the lords themselves were left destitute of a supply. In this extreme necessity, an inhabitant of the country received them in his rustic cot, entertained them with a frugal repast, and displayed a sound judgment, an honest and humane heart, abilities superior to his condition, a resolute mind, and a love for his country, which these madmen did not feel in their own breasts. Ambitious men, who themselves despair of governing, chuse rather to submit to a third person, who has not entered into the competition, than to obey a rival. In the present case, they determined in favour of virtue; and by this means repaired, in some measure, the mischiefs they had occasioned by their contests for the throne. **PIAST**, therefore, was chosen king*.

SECT. II.

SOVEREIGNS OF THE FAMILY OF **PIAST**.

840. ACCORDING to various accounts, **Piaſt** moved in the humble walk of a wheelwright, or a peasant. Modern pride may shrink back at the tale, but if innate worth and extraordinary talents lifted **Piaſt** to the sovereignty, the philosophic mind will contemplate his elevation with pleasure, and draw an analogy no way favourable to hereditary vice or imbecility. **Piaſt** lived to a very advanced age, and his reign was so auspicious, that every

* ~~The~~ credulous **Długosius** believes and asserts, that two ~~angels~~ human forms were entertained by **Piaſt** in his cot, and manifested their gratitude for his hospitality by miraculously procuring for him the crown of Poland.

native Pole who has since been elected to the throne, or has even been a candidate for the crown, has been called a *Piaſt*.

This excellent monarch was ſucceeded in his virtues and his dignity by his ſon *ZIEMOVITUS*, who by his valour and juſtice, during a reign of 32 years, enlarged the dukedom; and though the government was not hereditary, yet after his death he was ſucceeded by his ſon *LESZKO*, whoſe merits did not diſgrace the exemplary virtues of his anceſtors.

ZEMOMISLAUS ſon of *Leſzko* was in like manner raiſed to the dukedom, and made as good a uſe of his power, which, at his death in 964, devolved on his ſon *MICISLAUS I.* who was born blind, but obtained his ſight in the ſeventh year of his age.

965. Before the acceſſion of this prince, the Poles had not embraced Chriſtianity; but *Miciſlaus* having married ſeveral wives, without deriving offſpring from either; ſome Chriſtian monks perſuaded him to renounce the errors of paganiſm, and marry a Chriſtian princeſs, *Dabrowka*, daughter of *Boleſlaus* duke of Bohemia. He tried the experiment, and it ſucceeded; but he is repreſented by the moſt undoubted authorities as a bigoted, prieſt-ridden prince.

From his reign, Poland began to be connected with Germany; and the writers of that country as well as thoſe of Denmark and Sweden, will be found to furniſh much information on Poliſh affairs anterior to the exiſtence of native hiſtorians.

999. At the demife of *Miciſlaus*, the title of duke was aboliſhed, and his ſon *BOLESLAUS CROBRAY*, or *CHABRY*, who united in his own perſon all the heathen and military Chriſtian virtues, aſſumed the government, and was recognised as KING by the German emperor *Otho III.*
and

and the pope. Having conquered Bohemia and Moravia, Boleslaus carried his victorious arms against the Russians, and was still successful. From Russia he marched into Saxony, which he conquered, together with Pomerania and Prussia, and made them tributary to Poland.

Having at length subdued all his enemies, he took measures for securing to his people the fruit of his victories: Sedulous to regulate the administration in the interior parts of his kingdom, he made laws, and employed his most earnest endeavours to create obedience to them. Unambitious however of exclusive power, he instituted a council of twelve noblemen to assist in the government, and the whole nation enjoyed profound peace during the remainder of his reign.

1025. Boleslaus the Great died after a reign of 25 years; and was succeeded by his son MICISLAUS II. but the death of Boleslaus was a signal to a general commotion; the Russians, Prussians, Moravians, and Saxons fell at once upon Poland, to free themselves from the tribute which had been imposed upon them; nor had Micislaus, as far as we can learn, either the courage to support a war, or the capacity necessary for conducting it with success. After a weak government, therefore, of nine years, he died of a frenzy, March 15, 1034, equally despised for his folly and detested for his vices.

The contempt, indeed, which the people had entertained for Micislaus, was extended even to his son Casimir, and apprehensive lest he should devote himself to the same vices, and prove as flagitious as his father, the lords conceived it proper to suspend his election and coronation, though without excluding him entirely from the throne. During his minority, the administration
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of affairs was consigned to RIXA, the mother of the young prince, and the daughter of Godfrey Count Palatine of the Rhine. But the regent soon exasperated the people by her imperious conduct, and her unjust preference of the Germans to the Poles. The people were overwhelmed with exactions; the administration of affairs was in the hands of strangers, who alone disposed of every thing. In vain were remonstrances made to her, she refused to hear, and treated those who came to offer them with a proud contempt.

This inflexibility at last dissolved the feeble bands that united the Poles to their Sovereign. The regent was banished, and obliged to seek an asylum out of the Polish dominions. She carried with her, however, those immense treasures which had been acquired by the victories of Boleslaus the Great, and placed herself, and her son, under the protection of the emperor. This prince gave them an honourable reception, and promised them a speedy vengeance. He even caused troops to advance to the frontiers of Poland, but it was rather with a view to save appearances, than to employ any efforts sufficient to re-establish Casimir on the throne of his father.

An utter anarchy now succeeded, attended with acts of the most shocking barbarity and villainy. Young Casimir had been driven out of Poland, and the country was over-run with foreign enemies. The Poles applied for assistance to the popes, whose credit was then very high; they indeed took the largesses of the Poles with one hand, and those of their enemies with the other, and promised both, but kept faith with neither.

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The Polish nobility, united, at length, to consider of some expedient for the suppression of these disorders. All acknowledged that a prince was necessary for Poland, but their views were different with respect to the choice. Some gave their suffrage for a neighbouring prince, others declared in favour either of themselves, or some lord of the kingdom: but the greatest number of them, supported by the archbishop of Gnesna, were of opinion, that it would be necessary to recall Casimir, who, as they discovered, had received the monastic habit in the abbey of Clugni. CASIMIR obtained leave from the pope to mount his father's throne, and to restore Poland to order and government.

Though certainly a bigot to the church of Rome, to which he made too great and humiliating concessions, yet Casimir I. manifested great courage and abilities in governing, and left his kingdom in a very prosperous state in 1058. The truth is, the Poles were at that time subjects to the see of Rome, and their kings were little more than substitutes to the Popes, to whom, as it appears, they paid an annual tribute.

1056. Casimir was succeeded by his son BOLESLAUS II. who three years after added Red Russia to Poland, by marrying the princess Wifzslava, heiress of that duchy. He re-conquered great part of the territory that had been acquired by Boleslaus the Great, and lost again by Micislaus; conquered Kiovia; and at length, by his great actions against the Bohemians, Prussians, Russians, and Hungarians, obtained the name of *The Bold*.

After a life passed in achieving the most splendid victories, however, Boleslaus sunk into luxury, and spent his time in the countries he had conquered

conquered (particularly in Kiow, then one of the most luxurious cities in the world on the banks of the Borysthenes) surrounded by a numerous court and powerful army.

The absence of the Poles from their wives on this occasion is said to have united the latter in the horrid design of raising their slaves and servants to their beds. At the return of the Poles a desperate battle ensued, in which the women fought by the sides of their lovers, and Poland again was deluged with blood. The ladies and their ignoble gallants at last were subdued; but Boleslaus became a complete tyrant; he sanctioned the assassination of several members of the clergy, and the acmè of his crimes was the murder of the Bishop of Cracow; for which the thunder of the Vatican drove him from his kingdom, and he died in the most abject state of poverty; as some authors affirm, in the station of cook to a monastery in Carinthia, while others assert that he was killed as he was hunting in the forests of Hungary.

In 1082 the pope, after much solicitation, permitted the Poles to elect LADISLAUS, brother of the former monarch, for their sovereign, but *without the title of king*. His reign however was a period of trouble, and ended with his life in 1103.

BOLESLAUS III. son and successor of Ladislaus, was one of the most warlike princes of the age. He defeated the emperor Henry V. and is said to have been present in forty-seven pitched battles. Entering, however, into a war with the Russians, they defeated him, and the disgrace is said to have affected him so much that it brought him to his grave.

1139. Before his death, Boleslaus had divided the kingdom among four of his sons, to the prejudice of the fifth, Casimir, who was then in his infancy: but this will was set aside by the eldest, LADISLAUS, the second of that name, who, animated by his lewd and ambitious wife Christina, assumed the exclusive government of the state.

After a turbulent reign, however, this flagitious prince was deposed and driven into Germany.

In 1146, BOLESLAUS IV. brother to the last duke (for as yet the pope had not suffered the regal title to be resumed) governed Poland, and, proving a mild and amiable prince, assigned to his exiled brother the province of Silesia, which has ever since been dismembered from Poland.

During this reign, the rage of crusading prevailed in Europe, and Henry, brother of the reigning duke, made a campaign in the Holy Land, from which he returned with the loss of almost all the army that attended him.

Taking an infamous advantage of this deduction from the forces of the Polish monarch, the exiled Ladislaus, and his wife Christina, who, as have just observed, had by the generosity of the reigning brother been invested with the sovereignty of Silesia, persuaded the emperor Frederic Barbarossa to invade Poland. The imperial army, in this treacherous attempt, was ruined, but an accommodation succeeded, and Boleslaus acquired leisure to turn his arms against the Russians, under the pious pretence of their being still heathens. His troops were every where defeated, the remainder of his reign was chequered with good and bad fortune, and Boleslaus died on the 30th October 1173.

1174. The next sovereign that Poland received was MICISLAUS III. but the relation he bore to
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to the former duke, or the title by which he claimed or obtained the supremacy, history has failed to record. Micislaus III. surnamed *the Old* on account of the wisdom he discovered in his early youth, made it evident, that prosperity can change the heart. Poland was in expectation of happy times under the reign of a prince who had always appeared equitable and prudent, but he disappointed the hopes of the people whose affection had raised him to the throne in opposition to many parties that had been formed to his prejudice, and he became a tyrant the moment he ceased to be a subject.

The consequence may be anticipated: Micislaus was deposed.

1177. CASIMIR II. his brother, who succeeded, was a wise and valiant prince, and obtained the honourable appellative of *The Just*. But his own virtues, eminent as they really were, were incompetent to secure to him a reign of peace; the insidious arts of his turbulent brother and his other relations perpetually disturbed the tranquillity of his kingdom, and defeated the salutary measures which the benevolence of his nature inclined him to accord to the happiness of his people.

Yet the virtues of Casimir so endeared his memory to the Poles, that at his death in 1194, his son LECK was raised to the ducal chair, notwithstanding all the intrigues of his deposed uncle Micislaus.

1202. The restless and ambitious Micislaus at last procured the deposition of his nephew, and his own re-establishment on the throne. But the dignity which villany had thus acquired, the justice of Heaven prevented his long retaining,
and

and he was succeeded in 1203 by his son **LADISLAUS III.** who died in a few days.

The Polish history about this period is very dark and doubtful; all we can learn with certainty is, that in the year 1206, **LECK** was restored to the throne; but his reign was a continued series of foreign invasions and domestic troubles.

Poland, in short, became now a prey to the Tartars. **Leck** had a brother **Conrad**, who, to keep himself in possession of **Masovia** and **Cujavia**, called the knights of the Teutonic order to his assistance against the Prussians, by which measure that order became possessed of the Polish Prussia. The fact was, that the Prussians being at that time pagans, and the holy see claiming a right to dispose of all pagan countries, the pope assigned Prussia to the Teutonic knights for the services they had performed in the holy wars.

In 1242 we find **BOLESLAUS V.** son of **Leck**, in possession of Poland. His whole reign was occupied in wars with the Tartars, Russians, and Lithuanians; as was that of his cousin **LECK**, who succeeded him in the year 1280.

On the death of this latter prince in 1289, long and turbulent disputes appear to have happened about the succession, which at last devolved upon **PREMISLAUS**, a powerful Polish lord, who, to revive the glory and spirit of his subjects, resumed the title of king, June 26, 1295.

Premislaus, however, after a reign of only six months and eleven days, was deposed by the king of Bohemia, and slain by conspirators.

In 1296, **LADISLAUS IV.** surnamed *The Little*, was nominated king of Poland; but being soon dethroned, the crown was given to **WENCESLAUS**, king of Bohemia. The Bohemian government, however, soon proving utterly disagreeable to the

Poles, Wenceslaus was quickly driven from the throne, and LADISLAUS IV. restored.

After this event, Ladislaus carried on a long and bloody war against the knights of the Teutonic order, who were headed by the marquis of Brandenburg. In the end they were defeated, and the residue of his reign was glorious.

1333. The son of Ladislaus, CASIMIR III. surnamed *The Great*, succeeded to the throne of Poland. The Polish historians dwell with singular complacency upon his reign, as the most glorious and happy period of their history; and record with peculiar pleasure the virtues and abilities of this great and amiable monarch: nor are their praises the echoes of flattery, for they were mostly written subsequent to his death, when another family was seated upon the throne. In perusing the reign of Casimir, we can hardly believe that we are reading the history of the sovereign of a barbarous people in the beginning of the fourteenth century: it seems as if, by the ascendancy of his superior genius, he had anticipated the knowledge and improvements of the succeeding and more enlightened periods.

From the moment of his accession his first care was to secure his kingdom against foreign enemies: with this view he attacked the knights of the Teutonic order, with whom Poland had long been in an almost continual state of warfare, and obliged them to purchase a peace by the cession of Culm and Cujavia, which they had wrested from his father: he then reduced Red Russia; and annexed the duchy of Masovia to the dominions of Poland. By these acquisitions he not only extended the frontiers of his empire, but rendered his dominions less liable to sudden invasions. But these great successes were not
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able to excite in his breast the fatal spirit of military enterprize; he always considered war as a matter of necessity, not of choice, and as the means of safety rather than of glory. Having secured his frontiers, as well by his victories as by treaties with the neighbouring powers, he turned his whole attention to the interior administration of his kingdom; he built several towns, enlarged and beautified others: so that Dlugofius, who wrote in the following century, says of him, "Poland is indebted to Casimir for the greatest part of her churches, palaces, fortresses, and towns;" adding, in allusion to a similar character given of Augustus Cæsar, "that he found Poland of wood, and left her of marble." He patronized letters; founded the academy of Cracow; promoted industry, and encouraged trade; elegant in his manners, and magnificent in his court, he was economical without meanness, and liberal without prodigality.

Casimir, too, was the great legislator of Poland: finding his country without any written laws, he reviewed all the usages and customs; and digested them, with some additions, into a regular code, which he ordered to be published. He simplified and improved the courts of justice; he was easy of access to the meanest as well as the highest of his subjects, and solicitous to relieve the peasants from the oppressions of the nobility: such indeed was the tenderness he shewed to that injured class of men, and so many were the privileges which he conferred upon them, that the nobles used to call him out of derision, *Rex Rusticorum*, the king of the peasants; perhaps the most noble appellation that ever was bestowed upon a sovereign, and far to be preferred to the titles of

magnificent and great, which have been so often lavished rather upon the persecutors than the benefactors of mankind. Human nature, however, is never perfect; Casimir was not without his failings: voluptuous and sensual, he pushed the pleasures of the table to intemperance; and his inordinate passion for women led him into some actions, inconsistent with the general tenor of honour and integrity which distinguishes his character. But these defects influenced chiefly his private, not his public deportment; or, to use the expression of Dlugoffius, the Polish historian, his private failings were redeemed by his public virtues: and it is allowed by all, that no sovereign more consulted the happiness of his subjects, or was more beloved at home and respected abroad. After a long reign of forty years he was thrown from his horse as he was hunting; and died after a short illness in the 60th year of his age, carrying with him to the grave the regret of his subjects, and a claim to the veneration of posterity.

Had Casimir been succeeded by a line of hereditary monarchs, it is probable that the barons would never have recovered their former ascendancy, and that the feudal system would have been gradually annihilated in Poland as in other parts of Europe. He died in 1370 without issue; and with him ended the race of Piast in the male line.

SECT. III.

SOVEREIGNS OF THE FAMILY OF JAGHELLO.

1370. LEWIS king of Hungary, nephew to Casimir by his sister, succeeded him in the throne of Poland; but being a foreigner, he was given to understand

stand that the security of his reign depended on his submitting to several limitations and restraints on the royal prerogatives; the kings of Poland, having till this period been absolute monarchs. King of Hungary as well as of Poland, however, the partiality of Lewis for the Hungarians was such as speedily rendered the latter kingdom a scene of perpetual bloodshed and robbery. Foreign invasions and rebellions succeeded, but the power of Lewis prevailed over all, and he obliged the Poles to elect in his life-time Sigismund, marquis of Brandenburg, for his successor.

At the death of Lewis, however, in 1382, the Poles, on the plea of its having been obtained by constraint, set aside the succession of Sigismund, who would probably have been formidable, as he must have been inimical, to their newly-acquired immunities; and came to a resolution to offer their crown to HEDWIGA princess of Hungary, and second daughter of the deceased monarch, provided she would espouse a prince whom the Poles should approve, and who should be obliged to reside in the kingdom.

Some time after this transaction, Sernovit duke of Masovia was chosen by the states to espouse the queen; but Elizabeth empress of Hungary, and mother of Hedwiga, would not accept him for a son-in-law, and her intrigues were so prevalent, that his election was rendered ineffectual.

1385. Hedwiga, therefore, set out for Poland, where she was received with the acclamations of all her subjects; and scarcely were the ceremonials of her coronation completed, when Jaghellon, great duke of Lithuania, sent a magnificent embassy to demand the queen in marriage. He proposed to embrace the Christian religion, and

to employ his utmost endeavours for the conversion of his subjects; he likewise engaged to release the Christian slaves, particularly the Polish, and to incorporate for ever Lithuania, Samogitia, and his Russian territories, with the kingdom of Poland; lastly, he undertook to re-conquer Pomerania, and the territory of Culm, together with Silesia, and all the other dominions which had been usurped from Poland.

By these advantageous offers Jaghellon easily obtained his desire: the queen of Hungary approved his alliance, and left the transaction of the whole affair to the prudence of the Polish nobility, who immediately complied with the duke of Lithuania's demand; but they acted in this particular without consulting the heart of the young queen, who entertained a passion for William duke of Austria, to whom she had been promised by king Lewis her father; and she only considered Jaghellon as a barbarian prince, and the sovereign of a cruel and idolatrous nation.

The duke of Austria, having received intelligence of what was transacting in Poland, advanced with all possible expedition to Cracow, where he was received by order of the queen, notwithstanding the disapprobation of the Castellan. He had several private interviews with her, entertained her with magnificent feasts, and the two lovers were on the point of defeating all the projects of the senate. Their secret interviews, however, at length alarmed the nobility, who appeared in arms before the castle, and constrained the duke to retire. The queen, added to her despair at being severed from the prince she loved, had the mortification of beholding herself, in some measure, a prisoner in her own palace.

Jaghellon, in the mean time, advanced towards Cracow, with a numerous body of troops, and accompanied by Boris and Skirgellon, his brothers : but as Hedwiga had declared that she would not see him, this disposition of the princess retarded his march. The senate threw themselves at her feet, and made the most pressing instances, in order to prevail upon her to see the duke of Lithuania. The queen at last complied with their solicitations, and Jaghellon was introduced into her presence. The prince was young and amiable, Hedwiga no longer remembered William of Austria, her heart immediately corresponded with her duty, and, with the frailty so commonly attributed to her sex, she gave him her hand with more raptures than ever she felt for his rival.

1386. JAGHELLON, having mounted the throne, found that, by the renunciation of Lewis, the kings of Poland were divested of the right to impose taxes without the consent of the nation ; he therefore assembled the nobles in their respective provinces in order to obtain an additional tribute. These provincial assemblies are remarkable as having given birth to the dietines ; which, however, no longer retain the power of raising money in their several districts, but only elect the nuntios or representatives for the general diet.

The vast accession of territory which Jaghellon brought to Poland in his hereditary dominions, the provinces of Samogitia, and Black Russia, as well as Lithuania, and which gave such influence to his posterity over the hearts of the Poles, that the crown was preserved in the Jaghellonic family until the male line became extinct in Sigismund Augustus, 1572, excited the jealousy of the Teutonic knights of Prussia ; nor, indeed, were the Li-

thuanians themselves pleased with their country being annexed to Poland; and the discontents of so numerous a body of people produced several wars.

The inhabitants of Lithuania and Samogitia were at this time worshippers of fire. Their chief priest, who was called Zinez, and the subordinate priests were obliged to keep it burning night and day: and if the sacred fire happened to be extinguished by any neglect, its sacerdotal wardens were punished with death. The principal temple was at Vilna, which was then the capital of Lithuania, and some remains of that temple are still to be seen in one of the castles of that city. If the sun was at any time so obscured by clouds as not to be visible for some days, the whole nation crowded to the temple, in the utmost terror, to appease the offended deity by human sacrifices. When that luminary was eclipsed, the consternation and superstition of these idolators were augmented. Gloomy forests and lofty spreading trees also excited their veneration; they considered them as the mansions where their gods resided, and approached with an air of reverence, in order to receive their oracles. Serpents were likewise the objects of their adoration; and they paid such religious honour to vipers, that each father of a family was obliged to nourish one of those noxious animals, and to respect it as the tutelar god of his house.

Jaghellon, to fulfil his promise of converting his ancient subjects, laid the temple of Vilna in ruins, and extinguished the perpetual fire; he likewise cut down all the forests that afforded retreats to the Lithuanian priests, and crushed their serpents to death. When the people, who were blinded by ignorance and long habitudes, beheld the
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the unpunished demolition of their temples, they were immediately convinced of the impotence of their gods; they then renounced the worship of those weak idols, and came in crowds to be baptised. The number of catechumens was so great, that they were only baptised by asperision; and none but the most distinguished among them received that sacrament in private, and with the usual ceremonies. Jaghellon left priests to instruct the people; erected an archbishopric at Vilna; and, as he was obliged to return to Poland, constituted his brother Skirgellon their duke.

This prince was altogether unworthy of that rank. His disposition was cruel and impetuous, and he was equally formidable to his friends and his foes; in a word, he never ceased to be dreadful, but when he had been debilitated by some debauch. The new power he had acquired, rendered him still more untractable. His cousin Vitholda, who had been engaged in some disagreement with him, could not think himself safe in a country that was governed by such a barbarous and vindictive prince. He therefore retired from Lithuania, and took refuge in Prussia, among the Teutonic knights, the usual asylum of the disaffected. They received him with open arms; for, though instituted for the defence of Christianity, they had violently opposed the conversion of the Lithuanians. A most bloody war now followed, which ended in the king's creating Vitholda sole governor of Lithuania.

This happened about the time when Tamerlane was invading Greece. At first Vitholda obtained singular advantages over the generals of that mighty conqueror; but at length he was overpowered by numbers; and the Teutonic knights proved a still more barbarous army than the Tartars.

fars, who indeed ravaged Poland, but in the end were entirely defeated by Jaghellon, who is said to have slain forty thousand, and to have made thirty thousand prisoners; but is blamed by historians for not having taken Marienburgh, the capital city of the Polish Prussia. The knights, it seems, from this neglect, gained time to recover themselves under their Grand Master Plawen, who found means to draw Vitholda from his allegiance, by offering to give him Lithuania and Samogitia in sovereignty. He was, however, defeated in the field as well as in the cabinet, by the firmness of Jaghellon, who conquered all opposition, and died, after a glorious reign of 48 years, and at a very advanced age, in 1434.

To this monarch succeeded his son, at that time in the eleventh year of his age, by the title of LADISLAUS V.

During the king's minority, Poland and Lithuania were harassed by the Tartars; and at a very early period he was necessitated to put himself at the head of his army to oppose Amurath, or Morad, emperor of the Turks.

By some authors Ladislaus V. is represented as having been at this time king of Hungary; it is certain, however, that the Hungarians, soon after, bestowed upon him their crown and sovereignty; and Ladislaus, after defeating the Turks, made a peace honourable to himself and highly beneficial to all Christendom. But the lustre of this victory was tarnished by a violation of faith, to which he was prompted by the cardinal Julian, legate of pope Felix the Fifth, a furious and foolish bigot. Prompted by his suggestions, and negligent of a treaty of peace solemnly ratified, Ladislaus marched into Bulgaria, where he advanced below Nicopolis, the capital of that province, and then entered

entered Thrace, where he took some castles. His intention was to attack Adrianople ; but Amurath, though surprised at such an unexpected rupture, was not wanting to himself on this occasion. He assembled a body of troops in haste, and marched from Asia into Europe. The two armies faced each other near Varna, a city of Moldavia, where Amurath, laying his hand on the treaty which had been sworn to by Ladislaus, and appealing to God as a witness to the perfidy of the Christians, who had dared to violate all that was most sacred in their religion, began the battle with the greater confidence of success, as he declared, that he hoped Jesus Christ himself would espouse his cause. In the end he was victorious ; the Christian troops were put to flight, after an obstinate resistance, and the cardinal legate, who chiefly promoted the infraction of the treaty and the perjury of Ladislaus, was involved in the slaughter. The young king likewise perished, after having given proofs of a courage much superior to his years, and worthy of a better cause. Ladislaus was scarcely of age when he was slain, having reigned ten years in Poland, and four over the Hungarians.

1444. At this time Casimir, the brother of Ladislaus, and second son of Jaghellon, held Lithuania as a fief of Poland. Though about ten thousand Poles, beside Hungarians, had been killed in the battle of Varna, yet CASIMIR IV. (who succeeded to the throne) subdued Bogdan, the rebellious vaivode of Moldavia, then subject to Poland.

About this time almost all Russia revolted from her tyrannical masters, the Teutonic knights ; and Dantzic, Thorn, Elbing, Culm, and Gotlub, put themselves under the protection of Casimir IV. At the siege of Marienburgh, he suffered a defeat
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by the knights, but soon repaired his loss; and by a treaty concluded at Thorn, he forced them to cede to him Pomerania, Culm, Marienburgh, Stum, and Elbing, and to hold the rest of Russia as feudatories of Poland. By this peace the Grand Master of the Teutonic order obtained a seat in the Polish senate. The hospodar of Moldavia also put himself under the protection of Poland, and the Bohemians gave their crown to Ladislaus, the eldest son of Casimir.

By this event, however, Poland had nearly been ruined, Ladislaus aspiring at the same time to the crown of Hungary, and thereby kindling a most destructive civil war.

In 1492 Casimir died, little lamented by his subjects. His reign, though much occupied by war, is remarkable for having introduced several additional innovations into the original constitution, all unfavourable to regal prerogative. One of the principal of these, and which laid the foundation of still more important revolutions in the Polish government, was the convention of a national diet invested with the sole power of granting supplies. Each palatinate or province was permitted to send to this general diet, beside the Palatines and other principal barons, a certain number of nuntios or representatives chosen by the nobles and burghers. This reign is therefore considered by the popular party as the æra at which the freedom of the constitution was permanently established. Casimir, though a brave prince, was engaged in several unsuccessful wars, which exhausted the royal treasures: and as he could not impose any taxes without the consent of the nation, he was under the necessity of applying repeatedly to the diet for subsidies: almost every supply was accompanied with a list of grievances, and

and produced a diminution of prerogative. In Poland, as in all feudal governments, the barons, at the head of their vassals, are bound to fight in defence of the kingdom: before the reign of Casimir IV. the king could require such military, or, as they were called, feudal services; but this monarch, in compensation for some pecuniary aid, gave up that privilege, and renounced the power of summoning the nobles to his standard; he likewise agreed not to enact any laws without the concurrence of the national diet.

Casimir IV. was succeeded by his son JOHN ALBERT, in prejudice of two elder brothers, Ladislaus king of Hungary and Bohemia, and Sigismund. The fact was, that the interests of the two latter were so nearly balanced among the electors, that when they could agree in nothing else, they mutually consented to raise their youngest brother, John Albert, to the throne. As the price of this partiality, John assented to all the immunities which had been extorted from his predecessors, and swore to their observance at a diet held at Petrikau 1469.

Scarcely had he mounted the throne when the Venetians proposed to him a confederacy against the Turks, in which for a long time John peremptorily refused to join. But ambition at length got the better of his caution; and he was defeated in an attempt he made upon Wallachia, where he lost six thousand men.

Authors are not agreed upon particulars respecting this transaction, nor can we discover which party was the aggressor. John I. died in 1501, while he was making warlike preparations to support his claim of superiority over the Teutonic knights.

1502. John Albert was succeeded by his brother ALEXANDER, great duke of Lithuania, by which

which event the union between that duchy and Poland was confirmed. He was involved during great part of his reign in war with his neighbours, the Muscovites, Moldavians, and Tartars, over whom at length his generals obtained a complete victory, while he was on his death-bed.

In a reign of five years, Alexander acquired great reputation by his courage and vigour; but we learn, that such was his profusion, especially to musicians, that after his death his donations were revoked, and a law passed called the *Statutum Alexandrinum*, to prevent the like abuses for the future.

In the reign of Alexander it is observable, that the following limitations of sovereign authority were declared to be fundamental laws of the kingdom: 1. The king cannot impose taxes; 2. He cannot require the feudal services; 3. He cannot alienate the royal domains; 4. nor enact laws; 5. nor coin money; 6. nor alter the process in the courts of justice.

1507. By the predilection of Alexander his elder brother, SIGISMOND, who had been twice before a candidate for the crown, succeeded him.

Sigismund I. employed the first years of his reign in reforming those abuses which had crept into the administration of public affairs. The richest domains of the crown had been mortgaged, and the treasury exhausted by immense pensions. Sigismund, by the aid of John Bonner, a minister whose disinterestedness was equal to his abilities, rectified these disorders; and when he had modelled the government of the interior parts of the kingdom into a better form, his next care was to secure, perhaps to extend, his dominions, at least to make himself respected by his neighbours.

He

He suppressed with singular address a conspiracy formed between his generalissimo Glinſko, governor of Lithuania, and the czar of Muscovy, for dismembering that duchy from his crown; and totally defeated, in repeated battles, the Russians, Wallachians, and Moldavians, from whom he recovered Smolensko, which had been surprised by them. He then entered into a long war with Albert marquis of Brandenburg, who had been chosen grand master of the Teutonic order, and forced him to raise the siege of Dantzic. By repeated successes against those knights, he at last obliged the marquis, who had turned protestant, to abandon his grand-mastership, gave him half the province of Russia with the title of duke, and by thus making Albert a vassal, gave a mortal blow to the power of the Teutonic order.

The astonishing successes of Sigismund I. and the vast power his family had acquired, attracted at length the jealousy of the emperor Charles V. who excited the Russians and the other barbarous neighbours of Poland to invade her. The good fortune of Sigismund, however, prevailed over all, till his nephew Lewis, son of his elder brother Ladislaus, king of Hungary, Bohemia, and Silesia, lost his life in the battle of Mohatz, against the Turks in 1526 *.

This was a most severe blow to the house of Jaghellon, for the daughter and heir of Lewis married Ferdinand of Austria, and in her right he possessed her dominions. The event is said to have shortened the days of Sigismund, though he

* This battle was fought Oct. 29, and proved fatal to the Hungarians, who were, with few exceptions, all cut to pieces. The young king Lewis was drowned in a ditch, into which his horse plunged him, and his untimely fate was lamented even by his opponent Solymán I.

was then 84 years of age. But before his death he had subdued all his barbarous enemies, secured the sovereignty of Poland over the ducal Russia, and re-annexed the province of Masovia to his crown. He died 1548, and has been characterised as the most powerful and fortunate prince that had ever filled the throne of Poland, and as endued with more personal strength and accomplishments than any man of his age.

One of the Polish historians (Orichovius), speaking of this king's reign, exclaims with much indignation, "The king is almost wholly destitute of power; he cannot procure any subsidy on the most pressing emergency, for carrying on war, or for the portion of his daughters, without increasing the privileges of the nobility:" which passage has suggested to Mr. Coxe the following very judicious remarks: "Notwithstanding this exclamation," says he, "we cannot forbear to remark, that the power of levying taxes at discretion is the most dangerous prerogative that can be lodged in the hands of a sovereign, and the most formidable engine of despotic authority: the acquisitions of it by the monarchs of France finally subverted the liberties of that kingdom; and it was made the first object of resistance by the assertors of freedom in our own country. If indeed we were inclined to point out any particular period, at which the Polish constitution attained its most perfect state, we should perhaps fix on the reign of Sigismund I. when the person and property of the subject were secured by ample provisions, and the crown still retained considerable influence. But the time was arrived, when an inordinate passion for liberty led the nobles to render the throne wholly elective; and at each election to continue their encroachments upon the regal authority, until the

the king was reduced to a mere pageant. The first public attempt toward establishing this favourite object of the Poles, a free election of the king, was brought forward in the reign of Sigismund Augustus, son and successor of Sigismund I. who was constrained in 1550 to agree, that no future monarch should succeed to the throne, unless he was freely elected by the nation."

SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS, however, succeeded his father without any previous election, because his right had been acknowledged by the diet during his father's life-time.

Wise and moderate, this prince improved his dominions by the arts of peace. He indulged the reformed, the Greeks, and all other sects, with a seat in the diet, and with all the honours and privileges which had before been confined to the catholics. Indeed he shewed such evident marks of favour to the Protestant confession, that he was suspected of being inclined to change his religion.

Soon after his accession, the Teutonic knights in Livonia were dispossessed of almost all that country by the Russians; but they were now succoured by Sigismund II. at the head of a hundred thousand men: yet was Sigismund not quite disinterested in the assistance he afforded them on this occasion. After he had made up a difference between Ketler the grand master, and his knights, he insisted that not only they, but all the Livonians, should acknowledge his sovereignty. They were obliged to submit; but Ketler was indemnified for giving up Riga to Sigismund, and for resigning his grand-mastership, by being made duke of Courland and Semigallia, which his posterity was to hold under the crown of Poland, and he was at the same time declared governor of Livonia.

Such arrangements, however, could not fail of exasperating Basilides, the powerful czar of Muscovy, who fell upon the Polish dominions with great cruelty. His troops were every where defeated by Radzevil, palatine of Vilna, and the other Polish generals, and he was at length forced to evacuate Lithuania. This bloody war was ended by a three year's truce, during which Sigismond died, with the character of possessing all the virtues of a king with some of the failings of a man.

The death of Sigismond II. without issue gave efficacy to the concession he had made to the Poles, "that no future monarch should succeed to the throne, unless he was freely elected by the nation;" which concession might otherwise have been counteracted by the popularity and influence attendant on a claimant by hereditary succession: for it may not be improper to remark, that, during the Jaghellon line, the sovereigns upon their accession, or election, although formally raised to the throne by the consent of the nation, still rested their pretensions upon hereditary right, as well as upon this consent; always styling themselves *beirs* of the kingdom of Poland. Sigismond Augustus, in whom the male line of the Jaghellon family became extinct, was the last who bore that title.

The memory of the princes of that family, however, is still very dear to the Poles.

S E C T. IV.

SOVEREIGNS OF DIFFERENT FAMILIES.

HENRY OF VALOIS.

AFTER the death of Sigismund II. a general diet assembled, and drew up a charter of immunities, which was afterwards called the *Pacta Conventa*, and of which they determined to exact confirmation from every future monarch*.

Sigismund II. left two sisters, Catharine, who was wife, first to the duke of Finland, and afterwards to John king of Sweden; and Anne, who was afterwards married to Stephen Batori, prince of Transylvania. Had the male line of Jaghellon continued, it is probable that the succession would never have been disputed in that family; but no sooner was it extinct, than intrigues for a successor to the crown of Poland were formed in almost all the courts of Europe.

The management of the pope's legate promoted the election to a prince of the catholic religion, and the archduke Ernest of Austria was thought of. By the unseasonable pride and pertinacity of the emperor his father, however, which was such as to unite all the Poles in a confederacy against his son, he missed his point.

It were endless to give a detail of all the interests and factions of the candidates, but at last the election fell upon HENRY of VALOIS, DUKE of ANJOU, and brother of Charles IX. of France, who secured his election, as well by private bribes to the nobles, as by a stipulation to pay an

* See more on this subject, under the head "CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT," p. 63.

annual pension to the republic from the revenues of France *.

Henry of Valois was at this time in some reputation with the Roman Catholics on account of his successes against the Protestants; and his cause was strenuously promoted by one Crasowski, a Polishman of intrigue and address. At last, however, he carried the election through the interest of his brother, who disliked his remaining in France. It was opposed in its progress by the House of Austria, as well as by the German Protestants; but on Henry's promising all that was required of him, particularly to maintain a fleet in the Baltic, and to marry the princess Anne, younger sister to the late king Sigismund, his election was almost unanimous, and he was crowned at Cracow in 1574.

His appearance, his magnificence and politeness, far different from what the Poles had ever been accustomed to, were just beginning to endear him to their affections, when he heard of his brother's death without issue, by which event he became king of France. The queen immediately dispatched to him several couriers, one after another, to urge his return into France, where his presence was necessary; but as he was apprehensive that the Poles would oppose his departure, and detain him against his will, he concealed his design from them, and stole out of his palace by night, in disguise, in order to ride post to Vienna, and from thence to France by the way of Italy. The Poles, who were apprehensive of

* His example has been necessarily followed by each succeeding sovereign, who, beside an unconditional ratification of the *Pacta Conventa*, has been always constrained to purchase the crown by a public largess and by private corruption; circumstances which endear to the Poles an elective monarchy. See Cox's Travels, Vol. I.

his escape, - immediately perceived it, and sent after him. John Zamoski overtook him some leagues from Cracow, and had recourse, though in vain, to the humblest prayers, and even to tears, to prevail upon him to return.

The people grew desperate at the news of the king's departure; and if the magistrates of Cracow had not posted guards in the streets to repress them, the French who were then in the city, and were looked upon as so many traitors, would have been massacred.

In the mean time Henry was nobly entertained by the emperor Maximilian at Vienna, where that prince is said to have inspired him with favourable sentiments toward his Protestant subjects. He then repaired to Venice under an imperial escort, where he spent nine days, as he used to say, under the enchantments of pleasure and magnificence: from thence he went to Savoy, where he was received with equal honours; but he consented to give up to that court Pignerole and some other of his Piedmontese possessions. At length he reached France, and assumed the regal dignity.

Charles of Danzai, whom Henry had left in Poland to make his excuses to the republic for so precipitate a departure, unfolded the motives of his master with great eloquence in a full senate: Henry likewise wrote to the chief of the nobility on the same subject; but all this did not satisfy the Poles, who thought themselves despised; and they reproached the prince for his clandestine retreat, and his indifference for a people who had testified so much esteem for him.

Henry, when he left Poland, imagined that he was quitting a barbarous country to take possession of a kingdom abounding with pleasures; but

he was deceived in his expectations; for his reign was only a melancholy series of calamities and intestine wars, and closed with the assassination of that prince.

SECT. V.

STEPHEN BATORI.

The primate of Gnesna, at the head of the senate, elected and proclaimed, on the 15th of July 1575, the emperor Maximilian king of Poland; but the princess Anne continuing still unmarried, the Piast party chose STEPHEN BATORI, prince of Transylvania, who made her his wife, and he accordingly mounted the throne.

Maximilian was preparing to dispute it with him when he died, and Batori was recognised king by all Poland, the city of Dantzic excepted, who pretended to be independent of Poland. The Dantzickers being supported by the Germans and Russians obstinately rejected all the terms offered to them by Stephen, were declared rebels, and were after all with great difficulty reduced to their duty. Stephen succeeded, however, at last, for he besieged their city; and their brave general Collea being killed in a sally, they accepted the terms proposed by the king, by whom all their privileges were confirmed. Yet the reduction of Dantzic did not prevent the remorseless invasions of the Russians, who laid waste all Livonia and other parts of the Polish territories, till they were defeated by Stephen in 1578.

The king of Poland in the conduct of this war had obtained the co-operation of the Tartars,

tars, who, while Batori encountered the Muscovites in the field, penetrated to Moscow, burnt that city to ashes, and put 40,000 Russians to the sword.

But the Russians were not the only enemies the Poles had to oppose, for the Swedes asserted by arms their claims upon Livonia. At length both Poles and Swedes discovered that Basilowitz, the czar of Muscovy, was their common enemy, and they proposed to unite against him; the weight of the war, however, fell upon Stephen, who besieged Pleskow, one of the strongest cities in the north, and well garrisoned. The perseverance of Batori continued the siege under infinite difficulties; and it required at last the mediation of the pope's legate to restore the peace of the north.

After this, Batori, who had lost about 50,000 men in his last campaign, applied himself to the civil and military establishments of his kingdom, and had the address to attach the Cossacks, who had before lived in a state of savage nature, to his crown, and to render them by discipline useful troops: he even introduced among them many of the arts of life; but a fresh war breaking out with Sweden, he was obliged again to take the field, in order to save Riga, which had revolted from his authority. Before he could effect this he died, 1586, but without being able to prevail with the diet of Poland to settle the succession of the crown upon his family.

It is sufficient, in testimony of Stephen's great abilities to say, that from a middling station he raised himself to power and royalty, in which he maintained himself by an almost unparalleled wisdom and intrepidity. He made it a rule with himself to dispose of all honours and employ-

ments according to merit; reformed the manifold abuses which had crept into the administration of justice; maintained peace within the kingdom, and kept in awe the Tartars, Muscovites, and Cossacks. A reign of ten years was long enough for his own glory, but too short for the good of the republic; and the Poles have almost deified his memory.

In this reign the regal power was still further abridged by the appointment of sixteen resident senators, chosen at each diet to attend the king, and to give their opinion in all matters of importance, so that he could not issue any decree without their consent. Another fatal blow was given to his prerogative in 1578, by taking from him the supreme jurisdiction, or the power of judging in the last resort the causes of the nobles; excepting such as arise within a small distance of the sovereign's place of residence: it was enacted, that without the concurrence of the king each palatinate or province should elect in their dietines their own judges, who should form supreme courts of justice, called *Tribunalia Regni*; and that in these courts the causes of the nobles should be decided finally and without appeal: a mode of judicature which prevails to this day,

S E C T. VI,

SIGISMOND III.

THOUGH the crown of Poland at this time might be literally called elective, yet both the Poles and Lithuanians still retained a great affection for the remains of the Jaghellon family. Prince Sigismund of Sweden was son to the eldest sister of Casimir

Casimir II. and her younger sister, Batori's widow, was still alive, and was forming a powerful party for her nephew. The other candidates were, three princes of the house of Austria, Ernest, Matthias, and Maximilian, together with Theodore czar of Muscovy.

By the intrigues of his aunt the queen of Poland, and the vast influence of the ecclesiastical order in the diet, SIGISMOND (who had declared himself of the Romish Religion, and had likewise on his side the interest of the Porte, the senate, and the Polish army, which was commanded by Zamoski, a person of great abilities both civil and military) was proclaimed king on the 9th of August 1587.

A slight glance at the Swedish history will develop the terms and views upon which Sigismund III. accepted the Polish crown, in which, as we have before observed, he was opposed among others by Maximilian prince of Austria. Sigismund, it is not doubted, hated the established religion of Sweden; hence he with very little scruple concluded some stipulations with the Poles that were prejudicial to the Swedes; particularly, that he should annex the Swedish Livonia to his new crown.

His father John, king of Sweden, had accepted of those terms, but they were rejected by duke Charles brother of John, and who was then the darling of the Swedish nation.

In the mean while the fickle Poles elected the archduke Maximilian likewise for their king; and such dutiful subjects were the Swedes, that the states of the kingdom came to a resolution to support the election of Sigismund, provided the Poles would desist from their claim upon Livonia; in utter contempt, it will be observed, of the compact

pact of their sovereign John: and before Sigismund's departure the states obliged him to sign certain articles in favour of the Protestant religion, and the independency of Sweden upon Poland.

His exaltation to the latter throne cost him, after this concession, but little trouble. The articles, however, which he signed were such as were impossible to be observed by a prince who ruled at once over a protestant and a popish country, and were thought to be calculated for setting him aside from the Swedish succession in favour of his uncle duke Charles.

In the event it appeared, that the Poles had elected Sigismund for their king upon merely interested principles, because they expected that the bait of their crown would have induced both the father and the son to have annexed Livonia to the kingdom of Poland. In this expectation they were justly disappointed; for John, though a papist, was a true Swede.

To return to the affairs of Poland; Sigismund agreeing to all that was demanded of him by Zamoski and the patriot Poles, obtained the sovereignty; and Zamoski defeated a German army, which was on its march to support Maximilian's claim. A second engagement ensued, in which Maximilian was made prisoner, a victory which secured the crown to Sigismund, and confirmed the glory of Zamoski. All that the house of Austria could do, was to prevail with the pope to send cardinal Aldobrandini to solicit in behalf of Maximilian. The prelate made strong efforts to prevail with Sigismund to suffer Maximilian to retain the title of king, even after he had renounced the crown, and a large sum was offered for his ransom. Sigismund magnanimously rejected both
propo-

proposals. He freely gave Maximilian his liberty, but forced him to renounce his title to royalty.

In 1590, Sigismund's compromise with Maximilian left him in tranquillity; and he was beginning to make some excellent regulations in the constitution of Poland, when he was forced to turn his arms against the Turks and Tartars, the latter of whom were defeated by Zamoſki, though their army under their khan consisted of a hundred thousand men. This barbarous war was renewed for several years; but at last a peace was concluded with the Turks, under the mediation of the English ambassador, which restored a short tranquillity to Poland.

In the year 1594, John king of Sweden died, and Sigismund now advised with the states-general, assembled at Stockholm, about settling the administration during his absence in Poland, and his uncle Charles duke of Suderland was declared regent of the kingdom. But he soon abused the authority he was entrusted with, and shewed evident intentions of usurping the royalty. Under pretence of defending the Confession of Augsbourg against the attempts of the Roman Catholics, he took several steps which had a manifest tendency toward the throne, and seemed to threaten an immediate revolt. Sigismund complained of this, dispatched his ambassadors into Sweden, and deprived Charles of the title of regent. But the duke found means to procure an establishment by the states of the kingdom of the character and authority which the king had taken from him. He then, notwithstanding Sigismund's orders, called them together at Arboge, where they confirmed to him the title of regent of the kingdom, gave him commission to do whatever he judged necessary for its defence, and declared all those traitors who

who within six months should not subscribe to these declarations.

The duke of Suderland, invested with this unlawful authority, made himself master of Stockholm and the fort of Elsenbourg. Rebel as he was, and usurping an authority which his master had taken from him, he endeavoured, notwithstanding, to impose upon the people, by assuring them that all his proceedings were avowed by the king, and that he acted only for the maintenance of religion; though, in reality, under the title of regent he already exercised regal power. He turned out the magistrates and officers put in by Sigismond, to make room for creatures of his own; removed the greatest part of the senators, attainted some of them, and seized upon the estates of all who ventured to complain. He obliged the chancellor Eric Sparre to remove out of Scandinavia, and put such governors and garrisons into all the forts, as were entirely at his devotion.

Sigismond, upon information of all these treasons, prepared to pass into Sweden, after having advised with the diet at Warsaw, which fixed his return to the feast of St. Bartholomew in the year next ensuing. He embarked in the road of Dantzick with 5000 men, and designed to make a descent at Calmar, a sea-town in Sweden; but did not use all the diligence that was necessary, and through a great mistake took his course by sea, when he might have been able in a little time to have gained by land Finland, which continued faithful to him.

Stephen Banner, the admiral of the king's fleet, wandered a long time in the windings of Sweden's rocky coast, and thus gave time to duke Charles to get ready his forces, and to make all necessary prepa-

preparations; and the zeal of the king's friends began to abate.

Sigismund, too, judged unwisely in entering Sweden with a foreign force. It was thought that the duke of Suderland would have submitted, if the king had not used menaces toward him, and compelled him to take up arms for the defence of his life and estate; but after he had raised an army, and fortune proved favourable to him, he laid hold of the opportunity to carry the rebellion farther than he at first intended. Charles advanced with an army to meet Sigismund as far as the plains of Lincopen, and then dispatched certain lords to him, to bring matters to an accommodation. Sigismund at first refused to hear them; but was prevailed on afterwards to grant them an audience. In the mean time the Hungarians without any order fell upon the Swedish troops with so much fury, that if the king had not founded a retreat, and gone himself into the field of battle, they would have entirely defeated them. Enraged, however, to see the victory thus wrested out of their hands, they threw themselves upon the dead bodies of the Swedes, and cut them to pieces. This action alienated the affections of the Swedes still more from the king, for the odious barbarity of the Hungarians was imputed to Sigismund. Several lords of his party went over to Charles upon this occasion, who soon obliged the king to return into Poland. He recovered Stockholm and Calmar, which had declared for Sigismund, and punished all those as rebels who had shewn any inclination to serve their lawful prince.

He then held a diet at Jencopen, in which a day was prescribed for Sigismund to return into Sweden; and the same decree was repeated in another assembly held at Stockholm soon after. Charles,
who

who as yet played the dissembler, and moved by gentle degrees toward the throne, procured an ordinance, that if the king would not immediately come over, and by his presence put a stop to the calamities of the state, they would elect his eldest son Ladislaus, upon condition that Sigismund would send him into Sweden to be there brought up.

The war was now carried into Livonia ; Charles made himself master of Pernaw, Solen, Leifs, and Fallin. Derpt was next besieged, and shared the same fate, insomuch, that in six months time, the whole province was subject to the usurper, except two or three strong places. The Poles, the Germans, and the Swedes ravaged by turns ; and the unfortunate Livonians felt all the most dreadful miseries that war could inflict. As Livonia depended upon Poland, the invasion of Charles caused a rupture with this kingdom, and Sigismund's quarrel became that of the republic. The Poles under Zamoski were successful, and recovered all the places that had surrendered to Charles within their dominions.

Though Charles of Suderland had long possessed the throne of Sweden under the name of regent, he had never yet ventured to take upon himself the style of king. At last, to complete his crime, and procure a title which so much flattered his ambition, he caused a libel to be dispersed, in which Sigismund was accused as having infringed the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and endeavoured to introduce the Romish religion into Sweden. The king was represented as a tyrant, who had intended the destruction of his own subjects, and had already put to death a great number of them in different engagements ; in conclusion the Swedes were exhorted to make choice

choice of another king. This libel had the effect which Charles expected. The estates met together; Sigismond was deposed, and the crown offered to Charles. But the crafty aspirer, who sought to lessen the odium of an usurpation by an affected modesty, pretended conscientious scruples, which in reality he had not. He must in a manner be forced upon accepting what in his heart he so eagerly desired; and the nation must seem to place him upon the throne, as the recompense of the many services he had done the state. He was not, however, crowned till two years after.

Zamoſki, after he had recovered from the Swedes almost all the places they had taken, returned into Poland, and gave up the command of the army in Livonia to Charles Chotkiewitz, who, by his conduct and valour, shewed himself a worthy successor to the great man who had preceded him in the generalship. The duke of Suderland having passed into Livonia with a fleet of 40 sail, and 12,000 men on board, summoned the inhabitants of Riga to surrender, and upon their refusal laid siege to the town. Andrew Linderſon, an officer in the Swedish service, marched out from Revel at the same time with 4000 men, to join the army of his master; but the Polish general being informed of his march, put a stop to his progress, and defeated him between Fellin and Pernaw. He then advanced toward the place besieged, and seized upon an advantageous post, which nature had fortified, and whence he could securely view the steps of the enemy. The usurper, who was desirous to engage, strove to move the Poles from their situation, and draw them out into the open field. To succeed the better in this scheme, he posted himself upon a little hill over against their camp,

camp, at the foot of which was a spacious plain, which divided the two armies. But Chotkiewitz continued firm in a post where he could not be attacked, and which kept the Swedes in awe, and stirred not a step till the enemy, through an eagerness of fighting, had engaged to a disadvantage. In short, the duke of Suderland, impatient of any longer delay, ventured into the plain to attack the Poles, and force them to an engagement. As soon as Chotkiewitz perceived that he could fight to advantage, and that the disposition of the ground counter-balanced the number of the enemy, he poured like an impetuous torrent from the hill where he lay encamped, fell upon the enemy that were below him, attacked their right wing, broke it, and put it to the rout. The Swedes detached a body of horse from their left wing to surround him; but John Sapieha, who had foreseen their motion, fell upon that body, and put them to flight. The number of the enemy, however, made the victory more difficult. They frequently rallied, fought again, still resisted, but at last were forced to yield. What followed, was more a slaughter than a battle. Eight thousand Swedes were killed upon the spot. Part of their fugitives were knocked on the head by the country people; and others, blinded by their fears, threw themselves into the bogs, where they perished. The dukes of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, who followed Charles of Suderland in this expedition, were slain; and Andrew Linderſon, count Mansfeld, and the usurper himself, were dangerously wounded.

Muscovy this year underwent a most surprising revolution, in the conduct of which the Poles were so much concerned as to bring it properly within the intention of the present history.

The

The czar Theodore died in 1598, and had left the administration of his large territories to his wife Gernia. This princess had a brother named Boris, who, by his address and artful insinuations, had gained the confidence of Theodore, and was advanced to the highest offices in the state. So many instances of kindness would have raised a grateful sense in any other breast, and satisfied any other man but Boris: but all the honours his prince heaped upon him, served only to enhance his ambition, which carried his views even to the throne. The czar had no children; and Demetrius his younger brother was to be his successor. Boris caused him to be assassinated in the life-time of Theodore, and had cunning enough to conceal his crime. He was indeed suspected of it, and it was feared lest he should make some attempt upon the life of the czar; but to efface all these suspicions, he lessened the taxes, gave ear to the complaints of towns, redressed the grievances of private persons, and found means to make himself beloved by the people.

Upon the death of Theodore, the nation offered to take the oath of allegiance to the empress Gernia; but that princess, either to pave the way to the throne for her brother, or through an excess of grief for her deceased husband, declared that she would renounce the world, and put the administration into the hands of the knés and the boyards.*

Upon this declaration the people rose and ran to the gates of the monastery, where Boris also was, and besought the empress and him, not to abandon their faithful subjects, who would never obey any other princes. Boris shewed himself to the people; and, to calm a tumult which fell but little short of sedition, he promised, that as soon

* The nobility of the empire.

as the forty days of mourning were over, he would take upon himself the reins of the government, provided the boyards would divide with him the cares of so painful an employment.

The czarina took the veil, and the time of mourning being over, the people were called together into the citadel. The chancellor Basil Jacoblinitz Salo Calf exhorted them to submit to the boyards, and acknowledge their authority; but the whole assembly seemed to be enraged at his discourse, and loudly demanded prince Boris, the brother of the czarina, as that princess had retired. Upon these acclamations Boris, who was present, rose up, and with a feigned modesty, which he affected only to make the greater impression upon the people, refused the crown they offered him. He even withdrew into the monastery where his sister was, and continued there a whole month. At last the people flocked thither in troops, tumultuously demanded him, and threatened to set fire to the convent, if he did not immediately appear.

The czarina strove to calm their passions, returned to her brother, threw herself at his feet, and conjured him with tears in her eyes to appease a people, whom too great a love for him was about to carry to the utmost excess. He yielded at last, when he thought he had resisted long enough to stop the clamours of envious tongues, and Gernia informed the people that her entreaties had prevailed upon her brother to comply, and that he was now willing to take upon himself the administration of the empire.

Boris governed Russia in peace, when an impostor rose up against him, and wrested the scepter from his hands, which he had gained by so enormous a villany. A stranger appeared under

der the name of Demétrius, who had been assassinated by the orders of Boris, and called himself the right heir of Theodore. He gave out, that his mother, informed of the conspiracy laid by Boris against the life of the prince of Muscovy, and foreseeing the danger, had laid another child in his bed, which had been massacred in his place, and buried immediately, for fear the assassin should discover the artifice. Beside all this, he exactly resembled the true Demetrius. He had, like him, one of his arms longer than the other, and a like mole in his face; but his sense, his air, and his genteel behaviour, seemed all to put his birth out of question.

He first applied to the Polish jesuits, and gave them hopes, that if ever he came to the throne of his fathers, his first care should be to draw over the Russians to the church of Rome. The jesuits wrote immediately to the pope, and pressed his holiness to engage the king of Poland to give assistance to this pretended prince. They then presented him to George Mecinski, the palatine of Sandomir, whose daughter he privately promised to marry, and he introduced him into the court of Poland.

Though a suppliant, he addressed himself to the king like a prince, without making any submissions which might have betrayed his birth, and was then received in Poland as the true Demetrius. There he raised an army of 10,000 men, marched toward the frontiers of Muscovy, passed the Boristhenes, and took Zerniga without any opposition. The Cossacks, gained by his promises, joined him; and Corelas, their head, opened to him the gates of Putinne.

Boris, in the mean while informed of the storm which was gathering in Poland, wrote to

the senate, that he could not have thought the wisdom of the Poles could have been surprized by a fable so evidently false, or that they would have infringed the treaties between them in favour of an impostor; that Demetrius was dead, and the whole nation knew it, and had mourned for him; he therefore besought Sigismond to seize upon the person of the supposititious Demetrius, and send him to Moscow dead or alive. He added, that if the Poles should supply the impostor with any succours, they should learn by a fatal experience, what it was to provoke the rage of the emperor of Russia. Beside these menaces, he had recourse to intreaties, and applied to the senators privately, to gain them over to his interest; but the pope's solicitations and the credit of the jesuits prevailed, and the king was persuaded, that it was the interest of religion and of the republic to support the party of Demetrius.

Boris now levied an army, and marched against this pretended prince at the head of 100,000 men. The palatine of Sendomir, who commanded the army of Demetrius, flattered himself that a great part of the enemy's troops would pass over to him, and therefore he sought for an opportunity to engage, though his forces were unequal; but he was defeated on the first onset, and obliged to fly.

Demetrius escaped into the castle of Rilesk, where he defended himself with courage, though almost all his soldiers had forsaken him: even the two Carthusians, whom he had brought with him as witnesses of his piety and zeal for the Romish religion, deserted him; but the jesuits Nicholas Ckerrakowski and Andrew Lowitz were constant to him, and encouraged him by their example and discourse. He seemed himself thoroughly

roughly convinced of the goodness of his cause; and whenever he went to engage, he was seen to lift up his hands and eyes to Heaven, and pray God to strike him dead with thunder, if his pretensions to the throne were not just.

Fortune soon after declared for him. He beat the Muscovite army which besieged him, with an handful of men, and forced them to a shameful retreat. He then entered Pontivol. Five neighbouring towns opened to him their gates; and he found in Bialogrod an hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. Jaleka and Luptine presently after surrendered; and the whole province of Severia submitted to him.

While he lay at Pontivol, Boris sent certain emissaries to assassinate him; and the patriarch of Muscovy published a decree, by which he excommunicated all the followers of Demetrius. The assassins being discovered, Demetrius treated them with clemency, and gave them their pardons. He wrote at the same time to the patriarch, and desired he would confine himself within the bounds of his ministry, and not employ religion in the support of an unjust cause. He is said likewise to have sent a letter to Boris, in which he, in very lively terms, reproached him with the means he had made use of to ascend the throne, and offered him pardon, with considerable advantages to himself and his family, in case he would retire into a monastery, of which the choice should be left to himself. Boris was so struck with the reading of this letter, that, whether through indignation or remorse, he fell into an apoplexy, and died, after having reigned seven years.

His son was crowned, and all the lords took an oath of fidelity to him; but a blind fortune

soon changed the face of affairs, and displaced the son of Boris to raise Demetrius to the throne, who was almost as soon deposed.

Crom was besieged by the Muscovites, and had already sustained ten assaults. Demetrius, in whose favour that city had declared, was afraid lest it should fall under the redoubled efforts of the besiegers, and dispatched Zaporiski to its assistance. As that general had not troops enough to break through the Russian camp by force, he had recourse to stratagem. He made use of an ignorant country fellow, by whom he sent a letter to the governor of Crom, in which he pressed him to a vigorous resistance, upon hopes of the speedy arrival of 40,000 men, who were already on their march to succour him. This fellow was taken by the besiegers, as Zaporiski intended that he should. He was put to the torture, and confessed, what himself was fully persuaded of, that Zaporiski was upon his march with a numerous army. The Muscovites, astonished at this false report, immediately converted the siege into a blockade, and went to meet Zaporiski, who, to confirm their fears, stretched out his troops as much as possible, ordered a great noise to be made in the camp, and commanded all the valets of his army to mount on horseback. He likewise sent certain soldiers into the enemy's camp, who, pretending to be deserters, assured the Russian general and his officers, that another body of troops was following Zaporiski; while he, taking advantage of their mistake, fell upon them immediately with all the briskness the Poles were capable of. The attack proved successful: the first ranks of the enemy were broken, and Peter Busmanof, who had been the first minister of Boris, immediately abandoned the cause of his son,

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to declare in favour of Demetrius. The example of so considerable a man drew after him a great number of officers, who submitted, and sent deputies to Demetrius to assure him of their fidelity. General John Houdun, who refused to comply, was put under a guard, and sent to prison.

Moscow followed the example of the army, and the people there rose in favour of Demetrius. The widow of Boris, the czar, his son and daughter, were shut up in a close prison. The dowager czarina, fearing the vengeance of the conqueror, took down a draught of poison, and gave of it to her two children. The son of Boris died of it; but his daughter, upon taking an antidote, survived.

Demetrius made a magnificent entry into the capital of the empire, and was there solemnly acknowledged great duke of Muscovy, and king of Casan and Astracan, provinces which John Basilides had conquered. His coronation was solemnized toward the end of July, and his pretended mother assisted at the ceremony. She had been shut up in an obscure monastery by the order of Boris, where she had remained in an entire oblivion. Demetrius took her out from thence, embraced her with tears in his eyes, gave her an attendance suitable to her quality, and heaped honours upon her. The princess, on her side, either flattered by the change of her condition, or afraid to declare what she thought, owned the pretended Demetrius for her son, and by that means confirmed the common mistake of all the Muscovites.

But the preference Demetrius gave to the Poles before his native subjects, the inclination he shewed toward the Romish religion, and his treatment to

the family of Boris, proved fatal to him. He removed the Muscovites from his court and all employments, and shewed favour only to the foreigners who advanced him to the throne; particularly to the jesuits, who obtained a rich establishment in Moscow. Seventy of the most considerable families in the empire, which were either allied to the late czar, or held out too long in the cause of his son, were attainted, and their estates given to the Polish lords who had followed him.

While all submitted to Demetrius, Theodore Swiski or Chousqui was almost the only one who ventured to rise up against the authority of this new prince. He endeavoured to form a conspiracy, and harangued against him in a most virulent manner; but these first efforts proved unsuccessful, and the plot being discovered, he was taken up and condemned by the senate. Swiski was brought to the scaffold, when Demetrius, through a clemency which proved fatal to him, prevented the blow, and granted his pardon to the criminal.

1606. In the mean time the new czar sent a magnificent embassy into Poland, to return thanks to Sigismund for the assistance he had given him, to renew the former treaties, and to demand the daughter of the palatine of Sendomir in marriage. She came into Muscovy with her father, her uncle, and a long train of German and Italian merchants. Within some few days after her arrival, she was crowned by the patriarch of Russia, who likewise performed the ceremony of the marriage.

Though all things now carried the face of public tranquillity, there subsisted, notwithstanding, a private conspiracy against the pretended Demetrius,

trius. Whether through prudence, or fear and remorse, or from whatever cause, he foresaw all the mischief which threatened him; the conspiracy he had discovered six months before returned to his mind, and he feared the consequences of a plot which he had left unpunished. Beside, he had no guards, and blamed himself for having dismissed, through a blind confidence, the German troops which he had in his pay. As to the Poles, their number was inconsiderable, and instead of being able to restrain the fury of an enraged people, they could only serve to inflame it. In short, they treated the Muscovites as a conquered nation, and with so much contempt, that those revengeful people were in a hurry to get rid of these proud foreigners, and the prince who had brought them in with him. The quarrel began at an entertainment, where the Polish ambassador would be placed at the czar's table. As this pretension was contrary to custom, the principal of the boyards were so provoked at it, that they were hardly restrained from coming to blows.

Some few days after, the storm broke out. On the 27th of May, the conspirators met early in the morning. They were joined by the body of the nobility, and the people rose to their assistance. Some of them besieged the quarter of the Poles, attacked it, carried it, and put all to the sword; while others ran furiously toward the citadel, where the garrison, either surprized or corrupted, made but a faint resistance. Peter Busmanof, the confidant of Demetrius, was killed upon the very first onset; and Swiski, at the head of a troop of conspirators, with a sword drawn in one hand, and a crucifix in the other, made himself master of the avenues to the prince's apartment.

apartment. The impostor, roused by the noise, laid hold of his sabre, and threw himself out at the window. Being hurt in his thigh, he was soon secured, notwithstanding all his opposition, and led into a great hall by Swiski's orders. But though death stood round him on every side, his courage never left him, and he behaved like a prince to the last moment of his life. A boyard presuming to speak disrespectfully to him, he punished him immediately for his insolence, and gave him a blow with his sabre. He then spoke resolutely to the conspirators, desired the people might be admitted, and the princess his mother brought to assure them still that he was the real son of John Basilides. But Swiski, who observed the conspirators to be somewhat moved, caused him to be killed immediately, with a German officer that was present, for fear he should divulge what had passed.

Paterfon, a Swedish historian, asserts, on the other hand, that Swiski produced the widow of John Basilides and mother of Demetrius, and that the princess declared her son had been slain; but that she durst not venture to aver it till then; and beside that she was overjoyed to see the avenger of Boris's villany upon the throne.

It is commonly believed that this Demetrius was an impostor: and yet, the resemblance of his person and countenance to the prince whose name he assumed, his courage after his first defeat, the greatness of mind which appeared in all his actions, and the declarations of the dowager of John Basilides, who at first owned him for her son; all these circumstances have led some to believe, that the Muscovites unjustly murdered the lawful heir to the crown. His behaviour at his death is uncertain. Those who consider him as
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a counterfeit say, that he owned the imposture before his death, and that his pretended mother declared that her son was assassinated by Boris. Others, on the contrary, maintain, that he constantly defended his character and condition; that the dowager czarina never disowned him for her son; and lastly, that his inclination to favour the Romish religion, and the friendship he expressed toward the Poles, were the sole causes of his misfortune.

However this be, as soon as he was slain, Swiski caused him to be publicly exposed for four days, and his dead body was treated by the populace with the utmost indignity. Twelve hundred Poles perished with him. The foreign merchants were plundered: one single man lost 200,000 florins, and almost all of them were put to the sword. The daughter of the palatine of Sandomir, who had so lately arrived from Poland with such pomp and magnificence, and but a few days before had seen herself possessed of the highest grandeur, was taken into custody, thrown into an obscure prison, and deemed happy that she escaped with life. At length the fury of the people being abated, they proceeded to the election of a czar, and Swiski was chosen.

His first care was to lay open the death and imposture of the pretended Demetrius. He sent abroad a declaration, in which it was asserted, that his true name was Gregory Griski or Strepy; that he had been a monk and a domestic of the patriarch's; and that he ascended the throne by means of witchcraft. But though his death was certain, and all the Muscovites in a manner were witnesses of it, yet another Demetrius appeared upon the stage, and maintained that this pretended prince was not slain, but had escaped with
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a small number of his guards. Though the cheat was manifest, yet some of the lords adhered to him; the Cossacks, encouraged by the love of plunder, and glad of any pretext for pillage, joined with him; and lastly, the daughter of the palatine of Sendomir, who with difficulty escaped out of her prison at Moscow, loudly proclaimed him to be her husband; but he had not the same good fortune as the person whom he represented, for he never came to the throne, but was assassinated by the Tartars who served him as his guards.

1609, 1610. In the mean while Sigismund, by means of the troubles which the two pretended Demetrius's had raised in Muscovy, made considerable conquests in the country. The last served him as a pretext for entering Russia. He raised a great army, and marched against Smolensko, a city formerly belonging to Poland, but which had been taken from them by the czars ever since the year 1514. The Poles had the first advantage near Clusin, and beat an army of 26,000 Muscovites. The town of Zaroba was then carried by Sulcows, who commanded a detachment of Sigismund's army.

The siege of Smolensko lasted near two years, and there fell either by the sword of the conqueror, or by sickness, 200,000 Muscovites. This important place was carried at last by assault; the province of Severia submitted to Sigismund, and the Poles already threatened the capital of the Russian empire, when the Muscovites, attributing their misfortunes to the prince that governed them, deposed Swiski, gave him up into the hands of the king of Poland, and by the advice of Mucislaus, governor of Moscow, offered

offered the crown to Ladislaus the eldest son of Sigismund.

1611. This young prince, however, did not wear it long; for the Muscovites revolted almost in the instant that they had taken an oath of fidelity to their new master. Whether through a natural inconstancy, or that the beginning of Ladislaus's reign made them sensible of the danger of being under the dominion of a Polish prince, we know not; but the whole nation, by a general conspiracy, took up arms, and elected for czar Fœderowitz Romanos, son of the patriarch Theodore. Fœderowitz immediately laid siege to Moscow, where was a garrison of 7000 Poles. As the place was of too large extent to sustain a siege, its defenders, seeing they were not in a condition to preserve it, set fire to the city, and above 100,000 houses, beside immense riches, were consumed by the flames. The Poles then retired into the citadel, and made there a brave resistance.

Sigismund might have relieved them, and his glory engaged him to use his utmost endeavours toward preserving so fine a conquest; yet he sent but very faint succours into Muscovy, so that the garrison of the place besieged was obliged to capitulate, after having suffered the last extremities.

Fœderowitz made a right use of these advantages and of the inactivity of the king of Poland. Having provided for the security of his capital city, he sat down before Smolensko, a place of great importance to either state. The garrison was small, and the losses the Poles had lately suffered had lessened their courage. The place was carried by assault upon the first attack, and the garrison cut to pieces. From this
time

time forward Sigismond's endeavours to restore his affairs in Russia proved of no moment. He had let slip the favourable opportunity, either of bringing the Muscovites under subjection, or of gaining their affections for ever, and the same circumstances returned no more. It was in vain, that his son Ladislaus, some years after, marched into Muscovy with a numerous army. His success was in no respect answerable to his hopes, and he was obliged to return into Poland, and agree to a truce of fourteen years.

After so much bloodshed, so many battles, sieges, and revolutions, what now was the issue of these great events? Muscovy, after having seen upon the throne of its princes the assassin of the lawful heir of the crown, became the sport of an infamous impostor. Shaken to its very foundations, and overspread with the blood of the most illustrious boyards, it became a prey to the Poles, its mortal enemies, and submitted to the shameful yoke of a supposititious Demetrius, Swiski revenged its quarrel, and reigned, but was in an instant driven from the throne by the very same people who had raised him to it. Another impostor started up, and occasioned fresh troubles and new misfortunes. The blood of the Muscovites streamed down in every quarter; Smolensko alone was the grave of 200,000 Russians; Moscow was taken; Ladislaus acknowledged as czar, and in the same breath deposed. There came at last a thorough alteration. The misfortunes of Russia were no more. Frederick-witz was elected. He repossessed his capital, and extinguished there the fires which the Poles had kindled. They yielded, they fled. Smolensko was carried by assault; and Sigismond, after such great advantages and so many victories, could

could preserve no more than the duchy of Severia and Novogrod.

1619. A war with the Turks now approached, of which we shall briefly state the origin. Bethlem Gabor, having driven Gabriel Batori out of Transilvania, had made himself master of all that principality. The troubles of Bohemia furnished him next with a favourable opportunity of gratifying his ambition. He carried the war into Hungary, took Cassow, Filek, and Tirnaw. In fine, becoming master of Presbourg, he assumed the title of Prince of Hungary. The Bohemians, who had revolted against the Emperor Ferdinand, and chosen Frederic the elector palatine for their king, applied to the prince of Transilvania for his assistance, to support them against the forces of Ferdinand, who, on his side, implored the succour of the king of Poland. Sigismund supplied the emperor with 4000 Cossacks, by whose means the usurper Frederic was driven from the throne. But the part which the Poles had in this war, drew upon their country the arms of the Ottomans.

In short, Gabor, who was supported by the Turks, and had great credit at the Porte, accused Gratiani the vaivode of Moldavia, of adhering to the Poles, who were allied to the House of Austria, though he was the vassal and tributary of the Sultan; and Sander the basha had orders to pass into Moldavia and seize on the vaivode.

1620. Zolkieski marched to the succour of Gratiani with 8000 Poles; and though the vaivode, who had promised to meet him with 14,000 horse, joined him only with 600 men, he took the brave resolution, either of conquering an army of 70,000 Turks and Tartars, or perishing in the attempt. The first action passed in Moldavia. Never was engagement more bold or
more

more bloody. The Poles stood like an impenetrable wall against the Tartars who fell upon their wings, and the Janissaries who attacked them in front. The courage and address of the great general, and the good order he caused to be observed in his troops, counterbalanced the advantage of numbers, and the infidels were the first who desisted. Zolkiewski continued in the field of battle, and expected to renew the action early the next morning; but either through cowardice, or jealousy of command, several of his principal officers deserted him in the night, and carried off with them 4000 of his men, which were one half of his little army, so that he saw himself under a necessity of planning a retreat. It was difficult to succeed in presence of a courageous enemy, whose forces were infinitely superior; he nevertheless attempted it; and if he was not so fortunate as to meet with success, he at least deserved all the glory of it.

As soon as he was informed of the desertion of his troops, he formed a square battalion of the faithful soldiers that were left him, made a kind of moveable entrenchment around them with his chariots, and marched in this order to gain the Niester. He reached to within two or three days journey of Mohilow, the first place of Poland on that side; but he had the Tartars to resist, who were continually harassing him, and was under such a necessity of avoiding the woods and mountains which lay in his passage, that he was obliged to go a great way about. In the day-time he was forced to fight, and to march in the night. On the first of October, the Turks attacked him without any success. Sheltered by his waggons, he defended himself with so much courage and address, and the field pieces he had with him
were

were fired so advantageously upon the enemies battalions, that he obliged them to retire. In short, he had already marched eight days, had arrived within two leagues of the Niester, was on the point of compassing his intentions, and his little troop, after having braved an army of near 80,000 men, were entering the passage of the river, when a panic which seized upon the attendants of the camp, made the brave Zolkien-ski lose the fruit of so much dexterity, and so difficult a march. As the night came on, the valets observing some mules grazing near, ran to catch them; but on a sudden imagining that the Tartars, who appeared so terrible to them, lay in ambush behind them, they took to their heels, and set up so loud a cry, that they spread terror throughout the camp. The like dread seized upon the foldiers, who fell into confusion; and thus those brave Poles, who had lately made so stout a resistance, were in a manner defeated, by the shadow of an enemy, whom they had so often resolutely encountered face to face. The Tartars, informed of the disorder, fell upon the scattered and affrighted foldiers, and cut them to pieces, or made them slaves. The courageous Zolkien-ski was almost the only person who ventured to dispute his life; but after several fruitless efforts, he was at last overpowered by numbers. His head was sent to Constantinople. The conquerors then ravaged Podolia; and this was all the fruit they gained from a victory, which was no otherwise considerable than by the brave resistance of the conquered.

1621. But the revenge of Gabor, who, was the spring of this war, was not hereby satisfied. He gained over the principal bashas to his party, and having drawn them into his views, they on their

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side engaged the Sultan in an expedition, which, according to all outward appearance, must have been attended with very fatal consequences to Poland. Osman was then upon the throne of the Ottoman Empire: young and ambitious, he was bent wholly upon war, either through a natural inclination, or for the sake of employing that dreadful body of troops, which, too apt to mutiny when unemployed, might as easily dethrone him, as they had lately given him the scepter they took from Mustapha. All Turkey was presently in motion for the preparations for this campaign; and the Sultan in person appeared early in the spring upon the frontiers of Moldavia, with an army of 292,000 men. So formidable a power seemed likely to swallow up Poland; but the Ottoman armies are generally more numerous than terrible. Charles Chotkiewitz, the general who had already distinguished himself in the war against Charles of Suderland, advanced towards Moldavia to defend the frontiers. He was attacked by the infidels, as he lay intrenched upon the banks of the Niester, in an advantageous situation, who, despising the small number of his troops, and encouraged by the presence of their emperor, used their utmost efforts to force Chotkiewitz in his lines, but were repulsed with a considerable loss.

While the Poles resisted with so much bravery, their general died on the 27th of September at Choczim, and Stanislaus Lubomirski supplied his place.

The Cossacks, whose ravages served also as a pretext for the invasion of the Turks, hastened to the succour of Poland. The Tartars advanced to meet them, and, supported by a detachment of Turkish foot, fell upon them in their march.

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The passage was disputed for about eight hours, and at last carried by the Cossacks, though inferior in number. They then joined the Polish army, and had a great share in the happy issue of this war.

On the 28th of September, Osman gave orders for a general attack, and marched himself against the lines of the Poles. The action began by break of day, and continued till the night put an end to it. The Turks, continually repulsed, returned ten times to the charge, with that obstinacy which is natural to them. At last they retreated, leaving 25,000 of their men killed at the foot of the intrenchments. They had already lost in different attacks above 60,000 men; their army was daily lessened by the sickness which raged in it; and their provisions began to fail them. Thus the Sultan, losing all hope of forcing the camp, proposed a conference; which was accepted; for the two parties were both equally desirous of peace; and if the Turks despaired of success, the Poles were fatigued and stood in need of refreshment. It was agreed, therefore, that the Tartars and Cossacks, who should henceforward commit any ravages, should be severely punished: that the Sultan should nominate the vaivode of Moldavia; but that none but a Christian prince should be capable of enjoying that principality; and lastly, that Poland should give up Choczim. Thus ended a war which alarmed all Christendom, and which threatened such fatal consequences to Poland. Sigismund gave no other occasion for it, than in assisting the emperor, who deserted him at last, and even refused him leave to raise forces out of Germany.

1611. Charles Duke of Suderland, the usurper of the throne of Sweden, died, and was suc-

ceeded by his son Gustavus Adolphus. This prince took advantage of the distance of the Polish troops to make an irruption into Livonia, where after a siege of six weeks he took Riga. He then marched along the maritime coasts of that province, and carried his conquests as far as Dantzick. Sigismund ought either to have recovered his usurped patrimony, or have fallen with it; but, too weak or too fearful to stand in competition with a prince, whose intrepidity and victories had given him the title of the *Lion of the North*, he chose rather to consent to a truce, which ended in 1625.

1626. Upon the expiration of this truce, Gustavus Adolphus, through a motive of generosity and justice, offered to divide with Sigismund the title of king of Sweden, and consented that the crown should pass to one of his children. He even promised to restore Livonia to Poland, upon condition that Sigismund should give up to him Esthonia and Finland, which were shared betwixt him and Charles of Suderland. But Sigismund, carrying his pretensions farther without being in a condition to support them, indirectly refused such advantageous offers. Gustavus then took the field with an army of 25,000 men, landed at Blow, and took Elbing, Marienburg, and several other places in Prussia. Kasammark was the grave of 3000 Poles, and the engagement fought near that place secured the conquests of Gustavus; but the battle of Dantzick had nearly proved fatal to him. This prince, who perhaps was as rash as he was brave, exposed himself to the enemy's fire like a common soldier, and mounted the breach in person, to force the intrenchments of the Poles; and he would have carried them, had he been less exposed:

but a fortunate blow saved Poland. Gustavus having received a musket shot, which grazed upon his shoulder, and obliged him to retire, his troops, whose strength and courage seemed wholly to depend upon the presence of their king, lost confidence and retreated.

The battle of Marienverder would have been still more fatal to him, if the Poles had known how to make a proper use of the advantages they had gained. Gustavus Adolphus threatened the empire of Germany with an impending invasion, and insisted upon the restoration of the protestant princes who had been deposed by the House of Austria. The emperor Ferdinand began to be afraid of this young conqueror, and, to impede the course of so impetuous a torrent, had sent a supply of troops to Sigismund. The Poles and Germans, united together, got the better of Gustavus, who was far inferior to them in strength; but their misunderstandings gave him time to recruit his army, and to revenge his defeat.

1629. In the end, however, a new truce was agreed upon for six years to come by the mediation of the kings of England and France. This treaty was entirely in favour of the Swedes, who continued in possession of the towns of Elbing, Memel, Braunsberg, the fort of Pillaw, and all their conquests in Livonia. Sigismund did not live to see the expiration of this truce. While all parts were filled with the sound of Gustavus's victories, he, overwhelmed with cares and vexations, regretting what he had lost, and apprehensive of still greater losses, died in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, at sixty-six years of age, and A. D. 1632.

The reign of this prince was attended with very singular events. Chosen by the lords to suc-

ceeded Sigismund Augustus, Zamoski, under his protection, humbled the pride of the House of Austria, and drove his competitor Maximilian from the throne. While the master and quiet possessor of an elective kingdom, he lost his own hereditary dominions. His head seemed unequal to the weight of two crowns. His efforts against the usurper Charles of Suderland were either too weak, or ill-directed. He could neither preserve his own patrimony, nor even defend the provinces of Poland. Livonia, in part possessed by the usurper, was entirely conquered by Gustavus Adolphus, who farther took from him a part of Prussia. Gustavus offered him an advantageous accommodation ; but Sigismund, too much attached to his own sentiments, and refusing to give up any of his pretensions, could not obtain by force what was freely offered, and was only exposed to greater losses. He had not skill to take advantage of the revolutions in Muscovy ; and when the Muscovites, tired out with the losses they had sustained, had raised his son Ladislaus to the throne of Russia, he neither knew how to support him there, to succour Moscow, or preserve Smolensko.

This prince had notwithstanding great virtues, and it might be said, that his very faults were derived from a good principle. If he lost Sweden, the cause of it may be ascribed to his zeal for the Roman catholic religion. If the troubles of Muscovy were of little service to him, the reason was, that he too early declared his design of introducing the pope's authority. The alliance he contracted with the House of Austria brought the Ottoman arms into Poland, and fomented the war with Sweden ; but the shock which the sects that divided Germany had given to religion,
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made him believe that his union with the emperor was necessary for the maintenance of the faith of his ancestors. And lastly, too strict an equity was the rule by which he would be guided in the dispute he had with Gustavus. He did not consider that Gustavus had the affection of the Swedes on his side, and a crown in possession. He was really a king by hereditary succession; and Sigismund looked upon him as a rebel subject. As he was incapable of doing the least injustice himself, he would not suffer it in another; and treating Gustavus as an usurper, he insisted upon his giving up whatever his father had usurped from him. Lastly, one may safely affirm, that if he had not reigned in Poland, that kingdom would not have lost Livonia, and he would have preserved Sweden. He died after having reigned forty years.

SECT. VII.

LADISLAUS VI.

His eldest son LADISLAUS was elected some months after. It was apprehended at first, that Gustavus, crowned with the laurels he had won in Germany, and the glory of thirty victories, would have declared himself a candidate; and the Protestants, who were very numerous in the kingdom, earnestly desired it; but he was too much taken up with the care of his conquests, and neglected their suffrages.

The queen, who was the second wife of Sigismund, made some attempts in favour of John Casimir her son, to the prejudice of Ladislaus, the king's son by a first marriage. She had en-

deavoured, in the life-time of the late king, to form a party, and obtain John Casimir to be declared heir of the crown. There were, beside, false reports spread abroad, that Ladislaus favoured the novel opinions, and the clergy, upon this account, at the opening of the diet, shewed but few marks of affection toward that prince. But John Casimir, through a greatness of soul perhaps without example, and less jealous of his own rising than his mother, who left no means untried that might contribute to advance him to the throne, broke all the princess's measures, and put himself at the head of the lords who appeared for his brother. And thus Ladislaus was nominated king on the 13th of November, without opposition, by the archbishop of Gnesna, and then proclaimed by the grand marshal. He was not crowned, however, till the year following.

1634. His succession to the crown stands distinguished by a great victory which he gained over the Muscovites. They were assembled in the neighbourhood of Smolensko, from whence they made irruptions upon the frontiers of Poland. Ladislaus, who had learned the art of war in his father's reign, as well in Muscovy as in Moldavia against the Turks and Tartars, marched against the Russians, drove them into straits, and obliged their whole army to surrender at discretion. The Turks made a diversion, on the side of Moldavia, in favour of the Muscovites, but to no purpose. When he had conquered them, he marched against the infidels, and forced them to a retreat. The basha who commanded them lost his head, either for his unskilful management, or his assurance in acting contrary to treaty, without the authority of the grand signior. These two victories
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obtained an advantageous peace for Poland. Ladislaus continued in possession of the duchies of Smolenko and Czarnihow; and the Turk, who had made trial of his arms, and saw that this young prince could not be attacked with impunity, grew afterwards a more religious observer of treaties.

1635. The war which the king made some time after with Sweden was no less glorious and useful to him. The famous Gustavus Adolphus, after having conquered almost all Germany, was slain at the battle of Lutzen. Expiring in the arms of victory, he beat the Imperialists, or, as other historians relate, his troops, in a rage for the death of their prince, revenged it by the entire defeat of the enemy's army. After his death the Swedish generals sustained, for some time, the glory of his arms, surprised Leipstick, took Schlestad, Colmar, Paderborn, and defeated the Imperialists near Hamelen; but the battle of Stenaw, and particularly that of Northlingue, were disadvantageous to them, and made them lose a part of their conquests. They must even have fallen under the power of the House of Austria, if they had not been supported by Louis XIII. king of France.

In these circumstances Sweden, governed by Christina the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, was apprehensive of the arms of Ladislaus. With a view to appease this powerful neighbour, who was preparing to make war upon her to recover what his father had lost, she offered a treaty, as necessary to Sweden as advantageous to Poland. The truce was continued for six and twenty years: Prussia was restored, and the decision of the claims to the several branches of Livonia were suspended.

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The Cossacks were under the protection of Poland, and defended the frontiers against the invasions of Turks and Tartars. King Stephen Batori, who knew the usefulness of that militia, had given them lands, and granted them privileges for the security of their liberty and religion. But the Ukraine, which they inhabited, becoming the refuge of an infinite number of Polish peasants, who, harassed with the exactions and drudgery which the gentry required from them, had joined the Cossacks, and enjoyed with them the like immunities, many of the lords demanded back their vassals; and the Cossacks refusing to give up those unhappy wretches, an attempt was made upon the privileges of that nation, and a scheme laid to reduce them to an equal slavery with that of the Polish peasants. Hence arose a long and cruel war, which reduced the kingdom to the very brink of ruin.

Konielpolski first entered the Ukraine with an armed force, and raised the fort of Kudac upon the banks of the Boristhenes, to overawe those untractable people into the observance of their duty. Upon sight of that fort, which threatened their liberty, they took up arms; but their first efforts were unsuccessful, and they were obliged to submit. An amnesty was granted them; but the conditions of it were not observed. Pauluk their general, and the chief of the nation, were taken up and beheaded, contrary to the articles agreed upon. Instead of withdrawing the troops that were in their country, additional forces were sent thither; and in a diet held upon this occasion, it was decreed, that all their privileges should be suppressed and extinguished, and the fort of Tretimirow, which king Stephen had given them, be taken from them.

Pursuant

Pursuant to this resolution, the Polish army marched to that place, with a design to besiege it; but the inhabitants of the country vigorously repulsed them, and obliged them to retreat. Yet, without any design of revolting from their obedience to the king of Poland, they meant only to preserve their liberty under the protection of the prince whom their ancestors had obeyed. Thus, though conquerors, they offered to submit, provided their immunities might be confirmed to them, and protested, that upon that condition they would never swerve from the allegiance they had sworn. So long as they were in arms, and the Poles were afraid of them, the latter suffered them to be quiet, and fed them with fine promises; but as soon as they were returned to their own houses, the Polish lords committed a thousand outrages in the Ukraine, sent detachments thither to take up prisoners, took away the Greek churches from the Cossacks, which they had in possession, and by their injuries drove a warlike nation into extremities, which they ought rather to have soothed if they had considered the true interest of the Republic.

1648. The Cossacks were headed by a brave general, who was pushed on by a thirst of revenge for the injuries he had personally received. Bogdan Kmieniński was the man under whose conduct they asserted their liberty, after having shaken the kingdom of Poland to its very foundations. He was originally a native of Lithuania, and his father coming to reside in the Ukraine, he was carried off by the Tartars. Redeemed by his mother, he returned into his own country, where he was almost a stranger, and cultivated the lands which his father had left him near Czehrin. He afterwards added a piece of waste ground

ground to his paternal estate, and cleared it of the bushes which grew upon it. This inconsiderable circumstance was, notwithstanding, the cause of the flame which spread itself over all Poland. In short, Czapliniski the governor of Czehrin seizing upon the waste ground which Kmielniski had appropriated to his own use, the latter complained of it to Ladislaus, who, adjudging the lands to the Polish officer, allowed the Cossack but a small acknowledgment for the pains he had been at in cultivating them. Kmielniski returned home, complained of the unjust judgment which had been given against him, and behaved so roughly toward the king's lieutenant, that he caused him to be taken up, and condemned him to be publicly whipped. Some historians add, that Czapliniski seized upon his wife, ravished, and then caused both her and her son to be slain. However this be, the Cossack left Czehrin in a rage, and sheltered himself in the islands of the Boristhenes, where he stirred up the whole nation to a revolt, and placed himself at the head of their troops.

Poland was in this situation, and exposed to the dangers of a bloody war, when, as a finishing stroke to its misfortunes, the king was carried off by an untimely death. Ladislaus VI. died without children at Merets in Lithuania in the fifty-third year of his age, and the 17th of his reign.

Upon his death, the barrier which restrained the Cossacks was removed, and they gave a loose to their fury during the interregnum. Kmielniski, that plain country fellow, shewed a prudence and courage capable of doing honour to the greatest generals. He had skill enough to conquer that inveterate hatred which his nation bore toward

toward the Tartars, and made a treaty with those people, who had ever been at enmity with the Ukraine. With them he marched against the grand general Potoski, defeated him in the neighbourhood of Korsun, put to flight a second army of Poles near Constantinow in Volhinia, and then overran Podolia and Russia. Leopold escaped being plundered by paying a sum of money for its ransom. All the gentlemen who fell into their hands were put to the sword, and they were the happiest who escaped only with the loss of their estates. The terror of their arms was so universal, that the capital of the kingdom did not think itself secure, and the regal ornaments were removed thence, that they might be preserved from the incursions of the rebels. Their ravages made vast solitudes of the provinces, which were formerly so well peopled on the side of Muscovy and Tartary, and which remain at this day almost without inhabitants.

The diet assembled at Warsaw grew very much afraid of them; and some of the lords, either more cowardly, or more cautious than the rest, proposed the translation of the assembly to Dantzick. These fears were not ill-grounded; and had it not been for a happy misfortune, they would doubtless have been obliged to yield to those sage remonstrances. In short, Kmielniski, making the best use of his advantages, and advancing as far as Pilavi, gained another victory over the Poles, and made himself master of their camp, where he found a booty that was valued at six millions. This loss was the safety of Poland. The Tartars came in with all the haste they could, in expectation of a share in the spoils; but as they had not been concerned in sharing the danger, the Cossacks refused them
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their portion of the booty; and fearing they should attempt to take it from them by violence, they withdrew into the Ukraine.

The diet then finding themselves secure from danger, entered upon measures to arrest the progress of the rebels, and put an end to a fatal interregnum. Upon the first head, they ordered fresh forces to be levied; and to make the recruits more easy, the clergy contributed one half of their revenues. As to the election, George Ragotski, prince of Transylvania, appeared as a candidate at the head of 30,000 men to serve against the Cossacks in case he was chosen; or to join with them if his offers were refused. The Czar of Muscovy spoke in higher terms, and resolved to make himself master of a crown by open force, which he ought to have expected from the free choice of the nation. But the Poles ridiculed the menaces of these two pretenders, and their manner of making their claim cut them off immediately from all hope of success.

John Casimir, the late king's brother, had the greatest number of voices; but Stanislaus Zarembo bishop of Kiow, whose ambition flattered him with the hopes of the archbishopric of Gnesna, raised him up a dangerous competitor. By the advice of this prelate, Charles Ferdinand bishop of Breslaw and Plotzko, and the youngest son of Sigismund III. formed a faction in opposition to that of John Casimir his brother. He was at first supported by Christina queen of Sweden, who solicited in his favour, and strove to put the crown upon his head, for this only reason, because he was incapable of bearing it. Christina's policy made her afraid of having too able a prince for her neighbour.

John

John Casimir had been a Jesuit; and to disengage him from the vows he had made in that society, the Pope had given him a cardinal's cap. But this circumstance had nearly excluded him the throne. The Jesuits, out of zeal against the Gospellers, had raised great commotions in the last reign, and the hatred which some of the lords bore to that whole body fell heavy upon a prince who had once been a member of it. But what the bishop of Kiow, and the Protestants with whom he joined, judged a sufficient reason for his exclusion, was a motive which engaged the Roman Catholics, who were fully assured of his piety and religion, to adhere the more firmly to him, and to urge his election with the greater zeal.

S E C T. VIII.

JOHN CASIMIR.

THE bishop of Samogitia spoke in his behalf with so much force, and removed so completely all the suspicions of partiality which the vows of Casimir had occasioned, that he overturned at once the faction of Charles Ferdinand, and in an instant brought them over to his brother's side. The solicitations of the pope's nuncio and the ambassador of France fixed the greatest part of the deputies. And lastly, the queen of Sweden, when informed of the engagements which the bishop of Breslaw had made with the House of Austria, declared against him. His competitor, therefore, was chosen by a general consent, on the 20th of November, and crowned the 17th of January following.

1649. The

1649. The war against the Cossacks was by no means approved of by the new king; and if he might have been heard, a peace would have been made, and the fury of those people appeased by a treaty. But the whole body of the Polish nobility were of a different opinion. Some of them, through motives of avarice, and the hope of bringing the peasants into subjection, and others under a pretence of revenging the injuries offered to the republic by the insurrection of those robbers, insisted upon taking the field. The king, who was well acquainted with the true interests of the state, was inflexible in his sentiments; in so much that the nobility, with a precipitancy which proved fatal to them, raised troops themselves without the king's consent, and marched into the Ukraine.

Kmielniski had foreseen the storm, and was prepared against it. Three hundred and forty thousand men marched under his standard, and the Cham himself was come in person to his assistance. What could nine thousand Poles do against so formidable an army? blocked up in Zbaras, they defended themselves there with courage; and if they had met with rebels only to encounter, they might have made them give way. But their provisions fell short; and the famine was so great among them, that they ate their horses for want of other victuals. In this condition, ready to sink under the burden of so many misfortunes, fatigued with the attacks of the enemy, pressed with hunger, without force, and supported only by their valour, they implored the assistance of their king, who, though he disapproved of their proceeding, yet thought himself obliged to fly to their succour. The Cham and Kmielniski marched out to meet him with 110,000 men.

men. Casimir had but 20,000; but then they were the bravest spirits in all Poland.

The Tartars attacked his camp near Zborow to no purpose for three whole days together. Their losses made them tractable; and some overtures were offered toward an accommodation. The king promised to pay the Cham the subsidies, or annual pensions, which formerly were given to him, but which Ladislaus VI. had suppressed. The Cossacks obtained an act of indemnity, and the confirmation of their privileges. The number of their militia was augmented, and the free exercise of the religion of the Greek church was allowed throughout all the Ukraine. The Cham, on his side, swore to keep a watchful eye on the frontiers of Poland, and to defend them in case of necessity; and Kmielniski likewise promised that the Cossacks should firmly maintain the allegiance they owed to the republic.

1651. But this peace was not of long continuance. The peasants, who did not make part of the militia, would not submit to their lords, nor allow them to take possession again of their estates. They learned besides, that their general Kmielniski had applied to the sultan, and sought to form under his protection an independent principality in the Ukraine, and along the banks of the Borysthenes.

John Casimir, upon information that the Cossacks, whose cause he first thought to be just, were disposed to revolt, then judged that the whole republic was interested in the war. He therefore raised an army of 100,000 men, and routed at once 300,000 Tartars near Bereteskow. Some few days after a panic seized upon the Cossacks, and threw them into disorder. Bohun Kmielniski's lieutenant, marching out of his

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camp with a detachment of the ancient militia, to fall upon the palatine of Braclaw, who appeared with a body of 2000 men, the whole of the forces were thrown into a consternation, thought their general was about to desert them, and took to flight in the utmost confusion.

Astonished with this loss, the Cossacks desired a peace, and it was granted. Kmielniski likewise obtained pardon for his rebellion; but the Zaporovian militia was reduced to 20,000 men. This treaty subsisted no longer than till the perfidious Cossack thought himself in a condition to break it with safety.

In short, the Muscovites seeing the Poles engaged with their rebel subjects, and embarrassed enough with repelling their attacks, took advantage of that troublesome circumstance, and entered Lithuania on the side of Smolensko. Kmielniski immediately detached a body of the troops under his command, with orders to join the Russians, who gained from thence a considerable benefit, while another body of Cossacks and Tartars ravaged Poland on the opposite side.

1655. Christina queen of Sweden, daughter of the great Gustavus, had abdicated the crown, and placed it upon the head of her cousin Charles Gustavus. He was scarcely upon the throne before he became an enemy to the republic of Poland, and gave the finishing stroke to the miseries of that country, already torn to pieces by innumerable armies of rebels and robbers. Certain discontented lords called in Charles Gustavus to support their faction, and kindled a flame in their country, which was with difficulty prevented from consuming it. In vain France interposed its mediation to bring matters to an accommodation; the king of Sweden, jealous of the glory
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of the great Gustavus, and desirous to efface it, if possible, had laid a scheme for the conquest of Poland, and found pretences enough for declaring war against it.

He therefore entered the kingdom, and was joined by the malcontents, who enlarged his army already made up of excellent soldiers. He presently became master of Great Poland, and subdued all Masovia. Cracow was besieged, and made but a weak defence. The conqueror entered the capital of the kingdom, and compelled the unfortunate Casimir, who was without troops, without money, and deserted both by the nobility and army, to seek an asylum in Silesia. Charles then passed into Prussia, and met with so little opposition, that he seemed to march through an open country already subject to his dominion. Dantzick alone, encouraged by the lively exhortations of some of its preachers, continued faithful to its Prince, and shut its gates against the Swedes.

The other towns, animated by the example of Dantzick, stood amazed at the prodigious success of the Swedish arms, and at seeing themselves all at once subjected to a foreign yoke. The contributions exacted by Charles Gustavus, and an exorbitant tax upon every chimney, raised a general revolt in a nation ever averse to tyranny and bondage. They could not consent to become tributary to the Swedes, and took the brave and noble resolution of shaking off their chains. The nobility joined together, and raised an army. Casimir put himself at their head, and by his presence excited that natural affection which the Poles bear to their prince, and the hatred which always follows the person of an usurper. In this first heat, their general Czarneski surprized the Swedish troops near Jaroslaw, defeated

them, and became master of their baggage; they were next driven out of Warsaw. Fortune began to declare in favour of an unhappy people, when an unlucky accident had nearly plunged them again into fresh misfortunes.

Charles Gustavus having made a treaty with the marquis of Brandenburg, in which it was stipulated that the elector should enjoy an absolute power in Ducal Prussia, his subjects joined with their new ally, and the Swedes, strengthened by this additional force, marched directly to Warsaw with design to recover it. The Poles did all that was possible to preserve that city; the contest lasted three days, and the bravery of the defenders kept the victory a long time in suspense, though it inclined to the side of Sweden. Charles carried it at last; and the slaughter was the more dreadful, as the conquest was so long disputed. Warsaw became the prize of the victory.

1657. Another enemy appeared about the same time. Ragotski, prince of Transilvania, had long meditated revenge for his exclusion from the throne upon the last election. He therefore declared for the Swedes, and flattered himself, that in this low estate of the republic, he might be able to dethrone Casimir, and raise himself upon his ruins. Ragotski had an army of 30,000 men, and it is possible his ambitious projects might have succeeded, if he would have followed the counsels of the king of Sweden, who had advised him to enter Poland by the palatinate of Birsctsk, or Bressici, where all would have been favourable to him, and wait for the coming up of the Swedes. But Ragotski, blinded by the promises of Dabricius an astrologer, who had flattered him with the hope of a certain conquest,

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thought that on whatever side he should enter Poland, he should still be victorious.

Every thing seemed to conspire to the downfall of this republic, which, though formerly in so flourishing a condition, appeared then to be upon the brink of ruin. The king of Sweden had scarce any thing left to conquer. Prussia, the greater Poland, Cracow, Warsaw, the two principal cities of the state, were subject to him. The Muscovite was master of Vilna, and almost all Lithuania; and though he indeed opposed the Swedes in Livonia, yet he was still an enemy to the Poles, and fortified himself upon their frontiers. Ragotski attempted to raise himself to the throne by an armed force, and to ravish from the nation the liberty they had always claimed of choosing their kings. Lastly, the Tartars and Cossacks, whose savages are ever attended with the most horrible cruelties, those robbers who carry off both men and goods, and whose footsteps are always marked with traces of blood and fire, were the least of their enemies.

But to these very miseries themselves it was that Poland owed its preservation from entire ruin, as its calamities raised them up avengers. The whole north in amaze trembled for their liberty, and thought they had seen a second Gustavus Adolphus in Charles. Denmark was the first that appeared to oppose the progress of so formidable a power. Muscovy joined with him; the Imperialists increased the army of Lubormiski, and the Dutch sent a squadron into the Baltic to preserve Dantzick.

Ragotski was presently put out of a condition of fighting. The Wallachians and Moldavians deserted him by the express order of the sultan, who disapproved of this enterprize of the prince

of Transilvania. After this desertion, it was easy for the Poles to defeat him. He was beaten near Sandomir, where he attempted to pass the Vistula, and lost in his march, and in the battle, 14,000 of his men, with all his artillery. They then came to a treaty, and it was agreed, that Ragot-ski should ask pardon of the king of Poland, that he should break the engagement he had made with the king of Sweden, and furnish a certain number of troops, whenever it was required of him. But this defeat, and this dishonourable treaty, were not the end of his misfortunes. The sultan, enraged that he should enter Poland against the express orders of the Porte, enjoined the Transilvanians to make choice of another vaivode. In vain he implored the succour of the emperor; after several engagements with his competitors, he was beaten by the Turks near Hermstad, and soon after died of his wounds.

1658. Charles Gustavus was almost as unfortunate. Frederic, king of Denmark, having declared war against him, made so powerful a diversion in favour of Poland, that he obliged the king of Sweden to desist from his project in order to defend his own dominions. Charles Gustavus had indeed very great advantages in the beginning of this war. That prince, whose courage might have been termed rashness, if success had not justified his actions, encountered the depths of the sea, which might have opened under his feet, and led his army across the ice into Zealand, to lay siege to Copenhagen. Peace was then made to the disadvantage of Frederic; but it did not last long. By this treaty the two kings were to shut up the mouth of the Baltic, and not to suffer any foreign vessels to pass through it.

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The king of Denmark, at the solicitation of the Dutch, who promised him a powerful assistance, refused to observe this article; and upon this pretext the war was renewed.

1659. The Dutch kept their word with Frederic, and those two powers united together at last humbled the pride of the haughty Charles Gustavus. The Dutch fleet beat admiral Wrangel at the mouth of the Sound, who presumed not any longer to keep the sea, but retired into his ports. The Swedes at last, after having been repulsed before Copenhagen, were defeated in the isle of Funen, and obliged to sue for peace. This was a finishing stroke to the king of Sweden. He, who till then had been a conqueror, and given laws to all his neighbours, and was now conquered and obliged to receive it from them, could not survive the defeat. The sickness of which he died, was imputed to the vexation which this turn of fortune had given him. He was the rival of the great Gustavus, but less fortunate, though possessed perhaps of equal courage and ability.

1660. John Casimir in the mean time had recovered almost all the places which Charles Gustavus had taken from him. Cracow and its citadel were reduced to the obedience of their natural prince in 1657. Soon after, the elector of Brandenburg had joined with his neighbours, and concluded a league, offensive and defensive, against the Swedes his former allies. Lastly, Thorn and the greatest part of Prussia had shook off the yoke: and a treaty concluded this year with Sweden, had put Casimir again into possession of all the rest. Charles XI. the son and successor of Charles Gustavus, gave back all the conquests his father had made; and Casimir, on his

his side, renounced all claim to the crown of Sweden. However well grounded his pretensions were, they were become useless; and by parting with nothing real, he gained a substantial benefit.

As soon as the Poles were freed from any apprehension of the Swedish arms, they thought of revenging the injuries they had suffered from the Muscovites. Czarneski and Sapieha cut off 26,000 of them not far from Polanski. Ten thousand more perished in the plains of Glembokiá, which were left upon the field of battle. Casimir then besieged Vilna, the capital of Lithuania, which the Russians had conquered. The city was easily carried, but the castle made a stout resistance.

This siege was equally fatal to Casimir and the Poles, by the division which arose between the king and his subjects. A part of the army revolted, and chose prince Lubormiski for their general. These misunderstandings delayed the attacks, and made the siege longer and more bloody. Peace was not made with the czar till some years after!

1655. The divisions which had lately broken out, were carried to such extremities, that the republic soon saw two opposite parties within its own bosom ready to rend it in pieces. Casimir raised troops; and the rebels and Lubormiski armed on their side. The Poles were upon the point of coming to blows, when the principal heads of the revolting party, repenting of what they had done, threw themselves at the king's feet, and besought his pardon; but their submissions were not sincere. The nobility forgot the respect they owed to the sacred person of the prince who governed them; and Casimir, unable to support the weight of so many cares, and naturally

turally inclined to repose, abdicated the crown in the diet of Warsaw, and retired the next year into France, where king Lewis XIV. gave him the abbey of St. Germain des Prés. He died at Revers in 1672.

1668. This prince, who was mild, affable, and polite, but irresolute in his designs, fearful, and almost constantly unfortunate, lived to see his neighbours in arms, and his subjects in rebellion against him. When Charles Gustavus entered Poland, John Casimir fled into Silesia. His character was shewn still more in the revolt of Lubormiski. It is always a reproach upon a prince to resign a crown; unless the abdication appear to be altogether voluntary. To pass a right judgment upon this fact, it may not be amiss to attend to the sentiments which the Poles expressed at the time. "Why," said Casimir Zawadzki, the starost of Culm, in his Secret History, "Why did John Casimir renounce the sceptre, which he had before so earnestly sought after? Poland stood in amaze at the view of such a step as seemed to point out the funeral of its liberties. It appeared as if the king had foreseen the fall of the Polish empire, and retired lest he should be overwhelmed in its ruins. This dishonourable apprehension was urged as the cause of his retreat. He was in a condition to support the cares of the government, as he was still sensible of pleasures. It seemed as if he looked upon his subjects as his enemies, and that he fled like a conquered prince, driven out of his dominions."

The turbulent reign of John Casimir was marked by the introduction of the *Liberum Veto*, or the power which each nuntio claims and exercises of interposing a negative, and in consequence
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of that interposition of breaking up the diet ; a privilege which the sovereign himself does not possess, and which has contributed, more than any other innovation, to destroy the true balance of the Polish constitution. But the king was still the fountain of honour : he conferred the principal dignities and great offices of the republic ; and bestowed the starosties, or royal fiefs, which are held during the life-time of the possessor. Hence he still maintained great influence in the councils of the nation.

S E C T. IX.

MICHAEL.

THE abdication of Casimir producing an interregnum, the nobility took up arms, and came by squadrons into the field of election. But this precaution, which they had used only to prevent caballing, had very nearly been fatal to them ; for, borne away by the impetuous caprice of different factions, they rose against the senate, and were seen to turn those very arms against the principal lords, which they had taken up to defend the liberty of their suffrages.

1669. Stanislaus Prasinowski, archbishop of Gnesna, and primate, fixed the opening of the general diet to the second of May. The great duke of Muscovy first demanded the crown for his eldest son. An army of 80,000 men waited for the answer of the Poles upon the frontiers, and were ready to fall upon them if they did not elect the Prince of Russia. In case of his election, the czar promised to restore Kiow and all the other towns he had conquered ; to maintain an army
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of 20,000 men for the service of the republic, and to pay ten millions into the treasury. These fine promises however had little effect upon the Poles; the menaces which accompanied them made a greater impression. As they were not in a condition to resist, they had recourse to dissimulation. Pac, high chancellor of Lithuania, assured the czar of the good will and inclination of the Poles toward the prince his son, and gave him hopes that he would be elected, provided he could resolve to renounce the Greek church.

The czar, more guided by his ambition, than influenced by his religion, soon removed that obstacle, and the Muscovite bishops declared, that as the intention of the candidate in contending for the crown of Poland was only that he might be able to strike a greater terror into the common enemy of all Christendom, he might lawfully conform to the Latin church.

Thus the Poles, in apprehension of a rupture which might have been of bad consequence to them, strove to gain time, and allured the czar with specious promises without meaning to keep any of them.

The prince of Condé, the duke of Newburg, and prince Charles of Lorraine, also appeared upon the list, and each of these had his faction. Oborski starost of Warsaw supported the interest of the prince of Condé, and his faction flattered themselves they should carry it before all the rest. But on the 28th of May, the standard-bearer of the palatinate of Sendomir, of the faction of the Piasts, having obtained leave to speak, broke out into a severe invective against Oborski, and charged him with betraying the liberty of the nation, and selling his voice. They even produced letters, by which it appeared, that on the twenty-fifth

fifth of the same month, the primate and twelve lords, whom they called the vile slaves of the French ambition, had held a private meeting in favour of the prince of Condé, and that the senate meant to carry the election, to the prejudice of the gentlemen of an inferior rank.

Upon reading these letters, the whole assembly broke into a rage; they raised their sabres, and with threatening voices demanded the trial of Oborski. That lord in unspeakable fright, turned pale, and attempted to make his escape; but they kept him there by force, and obliged him to swear that he would no longer adhere to the party of the French prince, but declare that he looked upon him as incapable of wearing the crown.

Some few days after, the nobility required the primate to pronounce the exclusion of the prince of Condé. The whole senate was in a consternation at such a proposal. But the primate thought to elude it, by saying, that if the nobility expected a decision of the whole senate, they must be called together; but if they asked only for his particular declaration, he was ready to consent to the election of any person who should have the suffrages of the whole nation. The bishop of Warmia, the palatines of Kiow, Culm, and Pomerania appeared to be of the same sentiments with the primate, and the grand marshal of the crown said aloud, That if the nobility took upon them to proscribè so tumultuously a candidate of so high a character, he would quit his post and retire.

The resolution of these lords did not appease the tumult: the primate, forced by the cries and menaces of the meaner gentlemen, who were most of them persons of no distinction, but
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jealous of their privileges, and capable of defending them by violence, said at last, *I exclude him then, since they will have it so.* Compelled to quit the party of the prince of Condé, but preserving still a strong inclination towards him, he could not pronounce his name in that fatal judgment. Thus were all the hopes of the French prince cut off at once, and no one durst afterwards attempt to urge any thing in his favour.

The diet, growing more calm, then gave audience to the emperor's ambassador. This minister spoke in behalf of Philip William duke of Newburg, and desired the Poles to shew a proper regard to the merit of that prince. The envoy of the marquis of Brandenburg joined with him, and the king of England wrote likewise to the republic in his favour. As to the candidate himself, he made prodigious promises; but it was thought he neither could, nor even designed to perform them. Beside, though his merit was great, he was a German, and of a nation by no means agreeable to the Poles; and the emperor's recommendation was rather disserviceable than beneficial to him. It is likewise said, that though the imperial minister proposed him as a candidate, and publicly espoused his interest, yet he privately recommended Charles of Lorraine.

The old duke exhausted his treasures, and bestowed them very profusely among the avaricious Poles. They fed him with fair promises, and so long as his money lasted, his cabal was considerable, and had even the upper hand of the duke of Newburg's; but when that source was drained, his party sunk, and gave way to the faction of the Piasfs.

The nobility, impatient at the length of the diet, and suspecting the senate, murmured in every quarter.

quarter. The principal lords narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the rage of the multitude. The soldiers, who guarded the doors of the Kola, discharged their musquets into the place of election, and the shot fell among the bishops and palatines. To avoid the danger, some hid themselves under their seats, and others betook themselves to flight. The bishop of Plotko, Leczinski, and the castellan of Posenia, got off with difficulty: two other lords were slain; a third was shot through the hand. The seditious followed after those who left the Kola, and treated them very roughly: the whole senate was dispersed, and in the utmost danger.

Opalinski palatine of Kalisch at length appeased this disorder. Having called the gentlemen together, he addressed them to this effect: "To what end," said he, "should we thus assault each other for princes with whom we are so little acquainted? After they are chosen, will they think themselves obliged to us for our suffrages, or take any notice of those whose voices have raised them to the throne? Let us rather consider our true interest, and, without devouring one another, let us chuse from among ourselves a man worthy to command over the whole nation. Have we no members of the republic who are capable of governing it? Or can we, without dishonour, seek for kings amongst foreigners, as if we could find none deserving among ourselves?"

Those who had a mind to get all they could before they proceeded to an election, opposed Opalinski. Among others, the palatinate of Podolia demanded, that they should first provide for the security of Kaminiac; but their remonstrances were not regarded. One and twenty palatinates declared

declared for a Piast, and nominated some few days after MICHAEL CORIBUT WIESNOWISKI. The greatest opposition was from the Lithuanians, who had no share in that choice; but the blood of one of their deputies, who was cut to pieces before their eyes, imposed silence upon the rest, and all concurred to the proclamation of the prince elected.

SECT. X.

MICHAEL.

WIESNOWISKI was scarcely known before his promotion. His father had lost 600,000 livres a year in the war with the Cossacks, and the son had long subsisted upon the liberality of the late king. He was indeed of the family of Jaghellon, and descended from Coribut the brother of that prince; but he had done nothing answerable to his high birth. Upon the news of his election, he protested that he had not abilities to bear the burden they had laid upon him, and did all he could to decline it; commendable in this, that he was acquainted with his own weakness, and made no scruple to avow it. If he was surprised at his advancement to the throne, the Poles were soon no less astonished to see themselves governed by such a prince; nor could they conceive how it was they came to elect him. The republic was never reduced so nearly to the brink of absolute ruin as under his administration, and they more than once talked of deposing him.

The czar of Muscovy, in resentment of his son's disappointment, now revived the rage of the Cossacks. Dorozenki, their new general, was
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of himself sufficiently inclined to war, and hoped to form a principality for himself by means of these troubles. He therefore took a journey to Constantinople, offered the Ukraine to the sultan, and promised to introduce Turkish garrisons into the strongest places of the provinces, provided he would confer the principality of it upon him, and support him against the arms of Poland. His offers were accepted, and the basha Kioprili gave orders to the Tartars to join with the Cossacks, and begin their ravages, which are the usual fore-runners of the Ottoman armies.

They advanced the next year toward Podolia, and laid siege to Kaminiac, the sole place belonging to Poland in that quarter that was considerable for its fortifications; and the Infidels made themselves masters of it in nine days. This conquest threw the whole kingdom into a consternation. The country was open, and without defence, and the enemy might march unobstructed to the centre. Wiefnowiski, to get rid of them, gave up Podolia to the Cossacks, and promised to pay the sultan a tribute of 22,000 ducats.

This shameful treaty, however, was not observed. John Sobieski, the grand marshal of the crown, soon revenged his country, and brought down the pride of the infidels. The basha Hussain was intrenched near Choczim, and threatened the kingdom with an immediate invasion. He had already prepared chains for the Poles, and proposed to fix the Ottoman standards upon the walls of Cracow before the end of the campaign; but finding that the hospodar or vaivode of Moldavia had not joined him with as many troops, or as good as he expected, he broke out into a passion, abused him bitterly, and at last struck him upon the head with an ax, and wounded

wounded him. The Moldavian, enraged at this affront, drew over the vaivode of Wallachia to engage in his quarrel, and these two princes agreed to revenge themselves by treachery, and informed Sobieski how they were disposed.

The Polish general presented himself before the Turkish camp, and was admitted into it by the two vaivodes, who joined with him. But notwithstanding their desertion, the Infidels maintained the fight for four hours. At last they were forced to yield, and of the 35,000 men, which composed their army, scarcely 1500 were left alive. Yet all the benefit that was reaped from this victory, was the conquest of Chocim. The Poles, loaded with an immense booty, were desirous to secure it, and retired for fear of losing it. They might indeed have recovered Kaminiec, or fallen upon the basha Kaplam with advantage, who was with the Asiatic troops under the cannon of Czezowa; but the Christian army neglected to make a proper use of that fortunate circumstance, and disbanded, notwithstanding all the orders and care of the general to the contrary. King Michael Wicznowski died on the same day this battle was fought, not much regretted by his subjects.

1673. The death of Michael revived the hopes of most of the candidates who had already stood at the time of his election, and gave place to some other pretensions. The diet began on the 20th of April, and the competitors were, the great duke of Muscovy, the elector of Brandenburg, the prince of Transilvania, prince George of Denmark, the duke of Newburg, and prince Charles of Lorrain; and last of all, Sobieski appeared in favour of a prince of France, whose name was kept a secret. All these pretenders were received, and their proposals heard.

The czar, notwithstanding the ill success of his former attempts, offered the Poles his second son, a youth of between thirteen and fourteen years of age. His demand was expressed in humbler terms than at the preceding diet; and if he promised less, his menaces were fewer also. But no farther regard was paid to them than might reasonably be expected from good manners, and the apprehension of disobliging so powerful a neighbour.

The elector of Brandenburg proposed the electoral prince his son, and promised that he should embrace the Romish religion, in case he was chosen: but his party was small. As he was a German by nation, he was not beloved; and as a protestant by religion, it was apprehended that a conversion for the sake of a crown might not be sincere; and such a prince might prove dangerous. The elector soon perceived how the Poles stood affected toward his son, and declined the contest.

Michael Abaffi vaivode of Transilvania, besides fifteen millions, offered to unite his principality to the crown, and to maintain an army of fifteen thousand men for the service of the republic while at war with the Turk: but these offers were beyond the power of the Transilvanian, and impossible ever to be executed.

Prince George of Denmark was supported by the king his brother, who offered three millions, and the maintenance of six thousand horse. He was opposed by Sweden, which acted so powerfully against him, that his faction, which was always inconsiderable, was soon lost in the rest.

The most mighty of the competitors were, the duke of Newburg, and Charles of Lorrain. The first of these princes solicited for his eldest son, and offered at the same time a king to Poland, and an husband to the queen, the widow of Michael Coribut Wicznowski. The Poles were inclined

clined toward him; but he found a powerful adversary in the prince of Lorrain. The queen was in love with Charles, and pawned her very jewels to buy him votes. Pać the chancellor of Lithuania, and all the deputies of the duchy, were devoted to him; besides, the personal merit of the prince of Lorrain had gained him a great number of followers. He advanced as far as Silesia to encourage his faction, and succour them in case of need.

John Sobieski grand marshal of the crown, had declared, as already observed, for a prince of France. Crowned with the laurels he had lately gained in the battle of Choczim, and beloved by the army, he had power and credit enough to create a king, without nominating the candidate whose interest he espoused; he only gave the character and description of him, and under the borrowed lines of the pretended prince for whom he solicited, he evidently drew his own picture. He publicly asked for a prince of the blood of France, while in very deed he intended no less than to set the crown upon his own head.

In the mean time, the factions of Newburg and Lorrain, promoted by different interests, gave cause to apprehend a double election. The senate, devoted to the German prince, dispatched the bishop of Cracow and some other prelates to the queen, to engage her to forget the prince of Lorrain, and to offer her the crown, and the prince of Newburg for a husband. But the queen continued inflexible, and, remaining constant to her lover, took upon herself to make him a king. The Lithuanians swore to be faithful to him, and to die rather than desert his party. The Poles, on the other hand, provoked at the princess's refusal, grew more fixed in their resolution; and the more constancy they saw in

the opposite faction, the more firmly they adhered to their own candidate.

In this situation of affairs, and under the apprehension of an ensuing dispute, Sobieski set his friends to work. He had privately carried on his design, that he might be out of the reach of envy, and did not lay open his purpose, till he saw the discovery was likely to be attended with success. The palatine of Russia addressed the assembly to this purpose: "The republic," said he, "is in extreme danger, and threatened with all the horrors of a civil war; and yet what are the objects of so fatal a division? the queen, on the one side, devoted to Charles of Lorraine, does not approve the prince of Newburg for a husband; and thus the caprice of a woman is to set us in arms one against another. On the other hand, we are divided in the cause of a German, whose country alone should be a sufficient motive for our refusing him. Thus we sacrifice ourselves for a stranger, and one who is little known to us. Let us cease then these divisions, which are founded on such frivolous causes, and yet must prove so fatal in their consequences. Let us set aside both the competitors, who are no otherwise considerable than by the cabals they have found means to form; and let the true interest of the kingdom influence and direct our suffrages. What kind of a head does the republic stand in need of? an hero, who has courage enough to conquer, and wisdom to govern us in peace. And why should we seek for him out of Poland? We have among ourselves that great man who deserves to command us. You all know him, and have oft admired his courage and prudence. His victories, and his virtues, point him out to you plainly enough. The conquered Turks,"
"and

“ and the Cossacks brought under subjection,
“ solicit you in his favour. The security of
“ your frontiers against the invasions of your
“ enemies; the tranquillity enjoyed in the heart
“ of your kingdom; the conquest of Choczim;
“ —these are claims, which should carry your
“ voices. You see by these circumstances that I
“ propose Sobieski. Beside his great virtues, you
“ owe a recompence to his services. After hav-
“ ing saved the state, can you refuse him the
“ government of it ?”

Upon naming this candidate, those who were before prepared, rose up, and gave him their suffrages aloud. The palatinates of Russia declared for him, and were followed by that of Cracow. The rest of Poland was drawn after them, and either through fear, inclination, or example, almost all the assembly in an instant nominated the grand marshal to the throne.

The Lithuanians opposed this choice, and entered their protestations. Certain senators were dispatched to bring them back to the Kola; and their remonstrances so far prevailed, that the next morning the dissentients joined the body of the nation, and the proclamation was made in their presence with an unanimous consent.

It is said, that M. de Fourbin de Janfon, then bishop of Marseilles, and ambassador of France in Poland, had a great share in the advancement of Sobieski. His instructions were, to exclude the prince of Lorrain, with whom France had great reason to be dissatisfied. This minister first espoused the cause of the prince of Newburg; but finding that he was no more likely to succeed than his competitor, the sagacious prelate privately joined himself to the party of Sobieski, who for the reward of his services procured him the cardinal's cap.

S E C T. XI.

JOHN III.—SOBIESKI.

THIS prince owed his fortune solely to his merit. He was a native of the province of Ruffia. His father was James Sobieski castellan of Cracow, and his mother a daughter of Stanislaus Zolkienki grand general of Poland. His conduct and courage raised him to the highest dignities in the republic. In 1665 he was made general, and the year following high steward of the household, and palatine of the kingdom. He beat the Cossacks; took sixty of their towns in one campaign, and then drove them out of the palatinate of Bradaw into the Lower Podolia. After the loss of Kaminiac, he put a stop to the farther progress of the Turks, and the conquest of Choczim gave the finishing hand to his glory. King Michael died in that circumstance. Sobieski did not presume to declare his pretensions; but under the shew of an imaginary candidate, he artfully formed his own faction, took a proper time to make his designs known, and ascended the throne he had lately preserved, and which, it may be, none but himself was capable of defending.

1674. The Turks again took the field before the Polish army could be got together. Choczim surrendered after a siege of eight days, and Diskin was taken at discretion. The grand vizir then laid siege to Human, which held out for fifteen days. The place was reduced to the last extremities, and, not finding any hopes of succour at hand, entered upon a capitulation; when two mines having blown up a bastion, opened so considerable a breach, that the Infidels entered the town before the treaty was signed. They exposed

posed it to plunder, and put the garrison to the sword.

After these exploits, Kioprili advanced towards Kaminiéc, ruined all the neighbouring posts which might be of service to the Poles in the siege of that city, and then giving orders to the cham of Tartary to oppose Sobieski in the best manner he could, whose army was beginning to be formed, he sent part of his own into winter quarters, and the rest he dispatched into Asia, to serve against the sophi of Persia, who threatened Babylon.

The Polish armies were almost wholly made up of gentlemen not subject to discipline, who generally neglected the orders of their prince, and did not assemble at the time fixed by his decrees. Thus, though Sobieski was very desirous of engaging with the Turks, and opposing their progress, he was not able to take the field till toward November, by which time they had already compassed all they intended. As he could not therefore join the Infidels, he marched into the Ukraine, at the head of 30,000 men. The capital of that province surrendered to him, after having stood out seven and twenty years. Rascow, and most of the towns inhabited by the Cossacks, either opened their gates to him; or were carried by assault; insomuch that Dorozenski had but two places left him of any consideration. The fatigues of the campaign led the army of Lithuania, under the command of general Pac, to a revolt, and a great number of the Poles followed the example, and deserted their king.

1675. If Sobieski had not been master of the most singular patience and courage, Poland must now have been utterly lost. The Infidels, in-

formed that the *pospolite* * was dispersed, and that the king had not above four or five thousand men in his retinue, came into the field early in the spring, and laid siege to Zbarras, which would open them a way into Russia, from whence they might easily march to the very gates of the capital of the kingdom. After some resistance, 5,000 peasants, who were blocked up in Zbarras, revolted against Desauteuls, a French gentleman who was governor of the place, and threw him over the walls. The basha Ibrahim punished them for this treachery, though it was advantageous to him. He cut off the heads of the principal persons concerned, and condemned the rest to the galleys. The conqueror then sent out large parties to insult the little army of Sobieski, which was posted under the cannon of Leopold. But these kept their ground, and repulsed the assailants so vigorously, that the Ottoman general did not think proper to engage in an action. Overtures were then made towards a peace. The Turks, elate with their success, demanded that Podolia should be given up to them, that they should be reimbursed the expences of the war, and that the Ukraine should be given to Dorozenski, who should possess it as a feudatory of the Porte. But weak as the army of Sobieski was, he refused his consent to so dishonourable a treaty, and the war was continued to the next year.

1676. To justify the refusal of the accommodation, he did all he could to re-unite the Poles, and with great difficulty formed an army capable of keeping the field. The Turks laid siege to Woinaff. He marched against them, and

* See p. 15.

obliged them to raise the siege. He then intrenched himself upon the banks of the Niester; and thither the Infidels, whose forces were far superior to his, came up to attack him. But all their efforts proved unsuccessful. Sobieski, secure of his own courage and the resolution of his troops, marched even out of his entrenchments to dispute a post with the enemy, of which they had a mind to make themselves masters, and from whence they might have incommoded him in his camp. They fought till night came on, on the 24th of September, and the Christian army had all the advantage. The four following days were distinguished by as many engagements, in which the Turks were always worsted. At last, on the 9th of October, Ibrahim, basha, and the cham of Tartary, resolving upon a last effort, marched with their whole united force against the Polish camp. They made their attack with bravery and resolution; but being repulsed in every quarter, and astonished at the number of the slain, they retreated, and both parties then came to an accommodation. Peace was concluded upon the 15th of the same month at Zarawnow, on the banks of the Niester, on the following conditions: that the dishonourable treaty made by king Michael Wiefnowiski should be disannulled; that the Poles should continue in possession of that part of the Ukraine which lay on this side the Niester; that Comirera, and the territories appertaining to the general of the Cossacks, who had lately put themselves under the protection of the czar of Muscovy, should belong to the Turks; that the Roman Catholic religion should be preserved in those countries; that the Infidels should give back all their other conquests, except Kaminiec and its dependencies; and

and that they should defend Poland against all its enemies.

Under the circumstances in which he then was, at a time when the nobility could scarce be brought to act for the good of the republic, Sobieski could not obtain more advantageous conditions. They appeared however so exorbitant to the grand signior, that he refused for some time to ratify them; and did not comply at last, till his grand vizir Kioprili represented to him, that Poland would be invincible so long as the arm and fortune of Sobieski could fight for it.

Hungary had for some years last past been the seat of most violent commotions. The emperor had made himself master of the principal cities of the kingdom, had garrisoned them with German soldiers, and attempted to make that crown hereditary. Count Nadaſti, provoked at his being refused the palatinate of the kingdom, and count de Serim, discontented with not obtaining the government of Carleſtadt, had secretly implored the assistance of the Porte, and offered to make Hungary, Croatia, and Stiria tributary to the Turks, if they would lend a helping hand toward putting them into their possession. The grand vizir, who had the conquest of Candia from the Venetians at that time in his thoughts, did not accept of their offers, though at another time they would have been favourably received; so that the malcontents, despairing of any assistance from Turkey, and finding themselves too weak to engage in an open revolt, had recourse to other methods. Nadaſti invited Leopold, the empress, and the princeſſes, to an entertainment he was to give in one of his territories, and prepared a poisoned diſh for the emperor. Nadaſti's wife, to whom the traitor had discovered his design,

sign, was struck with so much horror, that she caused the fatal dish to be taken away, and another like it to be served up in its room. Nadaſti not observing the effects he expected from the poison, charged it upon his wife, who readily owned what she had done. The barbarous wretch punished her for it in the most cruel manner imaginable, and forced her to die by the same kind of death, from which she had preserved the emperor.

In the mean time, the conspirators used their utmost endeavours to debauch the nobility. Ragotski, Tattembach, Frangipani, and several gentlemen of distinction, were drawn into the plot, which was soon after discovered. Count Tattembach was betrayed by his valet de chambre, who sent to the court of Vienna the original of the treaty he had made with the count de Serim. An intercepted letter completed the discovery of this dreadful conspiracy. Serim and Francis Christopher Frangipani his brother-in-law were seized upon in a little place of Croatia, when they least expected it, and where their resistance would have been ineffectual; they surrendered themselves quietly, upon the assurances that prince Lobkowitz, his imperial majesty's first minister, gave them, that he would procure their pardon. Nadaſti was taken up at the same time, and all the three lords were beheaded.

Leopold then flattered himself that he could dispose of Hungary as an hereditary country, and thought he might do as he pleased, while he saw nothing capable of opposing his designs. He suppressed the dignity of palatine, created a viceroy removeable at pleasure, whose power was entirely dependent upon the imperial court, and confiscated the rebels estates. Some time after
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he erected a sovereign court of justice for all affairs in the kingdom, from which there was no appeal. The Protestants, whose privileges were restrained by the claims of this new jurisdiction; and in general, the whole body of the nation, wholly turned their minds, at this time, toward shaking off the chains which the Imperialists attempted to put upon them.

These troubles were farther increased upon the death of prince Francis Ragotski, who had been forced to make a cession of the counties of Zatkmar and Zembolisch to the emperor. The Transilvanians demanded back that principality; and Leopold refusing to restore it, the two parties prepared for war; but war was carried slowly on till the Turks engaged themselves in it.

In 1677, count de Bohun, at the head of 6,000 Poles, who, after the treaty of Zurawnow already mentioned, having no employment, had marched into Hungary, beat general Smith, and joined the rebels commanded by Westini. The famous Tekeli, who prevailed upon the Turks and so many other enemies to arm against the house of Austria, came up likewise with his troops to increase the army of the malcontents, which then consisted of 18,000 men. Soon after, this lord was declared general instead of Westini.

When the emperor saw that the storm grew more considerable, he endeavoured to prevent it; and in the diet of Odemburg, he granted the Protestants the churches they had built, gave them leave to build three more in the Upper Hungary, and restored the office of palatine of the kingdom; but these favours were out of season. Tekeli refused to subscribe to this accommodation, knowing that he should soon be assisted by the Transilvanians, Turks, and Tatars.

tars. Declaring himself the avenger of the blood of count Serim, he married the princess, who was widow to Ragotski, and by that means became possessor of the fort of Mongate. He soon after took the town and castle of Cassovia. Lengch, Spit, Eperies, Tokai, and Tillek opened their gates to him, and the sultan declared him prince of Hungary.

Though the Turks had not yet openly declared for war, they had notwithstanding furnished Tekeli with succours, and the batha of Varadin was concerned in the taking of Fillec. At last, on the 2d of January, the fatal horse-tails, the usual ensigns of an ensuing war, were seen upon the gates of the seraglio of Adrianople; and the whole Ottoman empire was in motion, to carry fire and sword into the bosom of Austria.

To resist this formidable enemy, the emperor Leopold Ignatius had, the year before, implored the assistance of the pope and all Christian princes, and particularly sought the alliance of the king of Poland, that prince so terrible to the Infidels, who, with an handful of soldiers, had checked the progress of the most numerous of the Ottoman armies.

Sobieski had for some years been tasting the blessings of peace, and quietly enjoying the fruit of his labour, by means of the advantageous treaties he had made with the Porte. Beside this, he was no friend to the House of Austria, nor to Leopold in particular, who had refused him assistance, when Poland, pressed by the arms of the Infidels, was within a moment of becoming their prey. These motives for some time diverted Sobieski from the alliance that was offered him; but the courts of Rome and Vienna made such powerful applications, that at last they prevailed

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on the king to join his arms with the imperialists against the common enemy of Christendom.

Louisa de la Grange d'Arquien, queen of Poland, a French Lady by birth, sought to form an alliance with the House of Austria, which might contribute to the advancement of her family. Leopold, who was acquainted with the sentiments of this princess, was beforehand with her, flattered her ambition, and made her very large promises. They fed her with hopes, that if she could engage the king her husband to sign a treaty against the Turk, they would give her son the arch-duchess to wife, and that with the assistance of the emperor, she might be able to set the crown of Poland upon the head of that young prince after his father's death. Innocent XI. promised him his protection and interest, and undertook to procure prince James to be nominated his father's successor in a general diet. Upon these promises she solicited Sobieski, and easily gained him over to her views. In the mean time a great number of Polish lords in the diet opposed the violation of the treaties subsisting with the Porte, and the entering into the new league which was then proposed; but the queen's party managed so dexterously, and represented in such lively colours the danger to which all Christendom was about to be exposed, that they carried it for an alliance with the emperor.

This important treaty was concluded on the 31st of March 1683. The terms were, That the emperor should have 40,000 men in the field, and 20,000 in garrison; that Sobieski should put himself at the head of the army which was to march against the Turks; that they should fall upon Tekeli with 6000 men, while the rest

should make themselves masters of Podolia and the Ukraine, and drive the Infidels thence. By a second treaty the king engaged to march to the relief of Vienna, in case that city was besieged, as the great preparations of the enemy gave cause to apprehend it would be.

As soon as the king had signed these treaties, he took pains to make good what he had done. He was generally thought to be inclined to avarice; and indeed the desire of raising his family might perhaps lead him to too strict an œconomy, and the heaping up of immense riches; but in the present circumstances, it seemed as if he had spared, only to lay out his treasures to advantage upon a proper occasion. He opened his coffers to raise troops, and drew over several officers of distinction to serve under him; he formed regiments of Cossacks, and maintained spies at his own expence in Transylvania and Hungary. He even found means to draw over Tekeli and Abassi from the Turkish party; and while those two princes appeared to be engaged with the Infidels, they actually held a private correspondence with Sobieski.

Kara Mustapha the grand vizir soon appeared at the head of 20,000 men. Upon his approach the duke of Lorrain, who was generalissimo of the imperial army, and had laid siege to Neuhausen upon the Neyera, retreated into the Schut, an island formed by the Danube, and famous for the fort of Komorre, raised upon a point of land on the side of Gran; but Vienna, in a consternation, calling him to her relief, he led his army up to the walls of the city. The grand vizir tarried some few days before Rab, or Javaria, which he caused to be besieged; but soon abandoning that enterprize, he marched up the Danube, and
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in the month of July came within sight of the capital of Austria.

The news of the Infidels approach, and the view of the fires the Tartars had kindled on both sides the river, threw the emperor into the greatest consternation. He quitted his palace with precipitation, without carrying off with him either furniture, money, or jewels. Most of the lords followed him without equipages; and they narrowly escaped being seized by the Tartars in the neighbourhood of Lintz. The emperor not thinking himself still secure, though arrived in that place, resolved to go a great way farther yet into Germany. His second flight was as precipitate as the former, and attended with a circumstance more deplorable. The empress, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, the ladies, and the whole court, without lodging, fire, or provisions, were obliged to pass a whole night in a forest, where, with much difficulty, they procured a truss of straw to lay the empress upon, whose consternation was so great as to induce some of the pains symptomatic of parturition. At last, Leopold arriving at Passaw, rested awhile, and waited for the event of the siege of Vienna.

The trenches were opened on the 14th of July. Beside the Hungarians, Transilvanians, Tartars, and the troops which guarded the bridges of Rab, the Turks alone made a body of 150,000 men, who took up a tract of ground proportionable to their numbers. The grand vizir's quarter was upon the little rising hills which surround the palace. Gold and jewels made, on every side, a most splendid shew in the midst of mortars and cannon. All the terrors of war were intermixed with the pride and pomp of luxury, and no prince in Europe could appear more glorious, or more terrible,

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On the other side, the city besieged was very weak in several places, and the counterescarp in bad condition. The point of attack was flanked with two small bastions, and fortified by a ravelin, which covered the curtain. The rampart lay close to the houses, and ground was wanting to make a proper retreat; so that if the first posts had been carried, it would have been impossible to have held out much longer. But there were provisions in Vienna, and ammunition in abundance. There was also a sufficient artillery, managed by skilful engineers; and the garrison were assisted by a considerable number of citizens, who seemed resolved to save their country, or perish in its ruins. The duke of Lorraine took his post a small distance off on the left side of the Danube, as well to encourage the besieged, as to be in readiness to receive the succours which should arrive.

The siege was not carried on with that vigour which the Turks usually shew upon such occasions. The first night they carried their trenches within 60 foot of the fosse; but they scarce made any farther advancement. A battery of 70 pieces of cannon was not able in six weeks time to break down one single pan of the ravelin. Their mines were all countermined: not one of them succeeded; and their whole ordnance, through want of proper managers, became ineffectual. 'Tis said, indeed, that Mustapha prolonged the siege with design; and that to preserve the plunder he expected to meet with, he was afraid of carrying the place by assault.

While he lay before Vienna, Tekeli was busy in Hungary. The town of Presbourg having put itself under his protection, the Hungarian prince,

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supported by a body of 16,000 Turks, marched to attack the citadel. The duke of Lorraine, informed of his motions, hazarded all to prevent them. He quitted his post, entered the castle of Presbourg, and drove out the garrison which was in the town. Tekeli was posted within a quarter of a league of them; and it was judged proper to fall upon him. Lubormiski, at the head of 2,500, put him to flight, slew 800 of his men, and obliged the rest to retreat towards Tyrnaw.

The duke of Lorraine, having repassed the Danube, was preparing to throw a bridge over it near Tala, while Count Tekeli, by the orders of the grand vizir, entered Austria. The duke, informed of the enemies march, went to meet them, and came up with them not far from Pisemberg. The enemy were posted upon a rising ground, from whence two battalions fell so fiercely upon the Christian troops, that they repulsed the Poles, and overthrew all that stood in their way; but the duke's dragoons put a stop to their fury, and charged them so resolutely, that they were obliged to return to the main body of their army, which was immediately dispersed: some of them fled toward la Mark, and the rest toward the bridges of Vienna.

Sobieski in the mean time, pressed by the repeated letters of Leopold, marched with 20,000 Poles to the succour of the place; and joining the duke of Lorraine near Ollerbrun, crossed the Danube at Tala, over a bridge which they had built, led his army through the narrow passages which the enemy might easily have guarded, and seized upon the mountains which surround Vienna, and the castle of Claremburg, which commands

mands the whole country. The march proved fortunate, and the success of it gave Sobieski to understand that he had to do with an enemy, who was either without experience, or too full of presumption. The Christian army encamped, on the 11th of September, on the tops of the mountains just mentioned, and their generals gave them rest for one whole day, that they might be fitter for action on the next. The engagement began by break of day on the side of Claremburg. The different posts seized by the Infidels were covered with inundations; but notwithstanding this advantage they were driven from them, and by noon Sobieski was master of all the higher ground, and prepared to fall, with a body of Hussars, upon the quarters of the grand vizir.

While the Christian troops were thus bravely engaged, Mustapha, making a jest of their assault, was drinking coffee in his tent with his two sons and the cham of Tartary. He sent only 12,000 men to the attack of Claremburg, and declined giving any assistance to his horse, though charged by the whole imperial army. But as soon as the Turkish general, blinded by a senseless confidence, saw the standards of Sobieski so near him, his foolish presumption changed into cowardice; and, trembling and affrighted, he had no strength but to fly. The Germans first entered the camp, as being nearest to it. The king reached it by six in the evening; and before night there was not a Turk to be seen. They found immense riches, and Sobieski wrote to the queen, that the grand vizir had made him his sole executor.

Mustapha, in the siege of Vienna, acted contrary to all the known rules of the art of war,

and the advice of the oldest bashas. He ought first to have conquered Javarin, which he left behind him. In laying siege to Vienna, he split the Turkish crescents against that rock, and gave into the hands of the Christians the prodigious wealth which he had brought along with him. He might have taken the city before the Poles came up. He might have retarded their march, and covered his lines, by guarding the narrow passes which surrounded his camp; but he looked upon the first advantages of the Christians with contempt, and seemed as if he had let them gain them only that he might chuse a time to conquer them at his pleasure, in the midst of their success. When they fell upon his camp, it gave him no more concern. His troops were driven from hill to hill, without his sending them any succours to support them. Lastly, he kept about him 150,000 men, to be as it were spectators of the engagement. Sobieski advanced, and the vizir waited his coming up in a state of insensibility, as if it were to deliver into his hands his rich pavilions. A mistaken courage blinded him, and concealed his danger from him; and when he discerned it, it was only to pass from one extreme of presumption to another of terror and consternation. This great victory cost the Christians no more than the loss of 600 men; and as the Infidels made but a weak resistance, and were not pursued, a small number only of them was left upon the field of battle.

Sobieski, upon his entrance into Vienna, which he had so lately delivered, went directly and presented himself before the altar, to return his thanks to Almighty God, and joined himself in the *Te Deum*, with his countenance fixed upon the
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the ground, and the most lively expressions of admiration and gratitude. The people were busied in singing his praises, and looking upon him with wonder and astonishment, while the king attributed the whole success of his arms to Heaven.

The emperor returned to the capital of his dominions on the 14th of the same month; and there shewing himself as haughty as he had appeared dejected before, he declined to pay to Sobieski the honours which were given to kings in other courts. At a time when Leopold was recovering, in fact, his crown from the victorious hands of the Polish monarch, he contested upon a vain ceremonial. It was at last determined, that they should meet in open field; and the interview was made at Schwech, about a league and half from Vienna.

As soon as the emperor appeared, Sobieski went to meet him, and said to him in *Latin*, That he was very glad that Heaven had prospered his endeavours and his friendship. Leopold gave no answer, either through the haughtiness of his disposition, or that he was struck with astonishment at the sight of his deliverer. Two days after he sent prince James a sword set round with diamonds, and three thousand ducats to every one of the Polish generals. He wrote a letter likewise to the young Prince, in which, to excuse himself for not having before taken notice of him, he told him, that the remembrance of the dangers he had run, and the presence of the prince to whom he owed his preservation, had made at once so great an impression upon him, that he was in a manner insensible. However this was, Sobieski was treated with ingratitude,

and the promises which had been made him were forgotten as soon as the service was done.

The Polish lords, provoked to see their king so disrespectfully treated, would have persuaded him to retire; but a sense of glory prevailed more upon him, and he determined to finish the campaign.

Upon raising the siege of Vienna, the Ottoman army retreated into Hungary to the neighbourhood of Gran. A large body of troops had passed the Danube over the bridge of Barkham, and had spread themselves around that fort, in the orchards which lie along the banks of the river. The king of Poland formed a design of dislodging them from that post; and that the Poles might have all the glory of the expedition, he did not communicate his project to the duke of Lorrain. Upon the approach of the first line of the Christian troops, the Turks, who had recovered themselves, fell upon them; and their numbers being considerably augmented, they drove back the Poles, and killed a great number. Sobieski himself was never in so great danger. Though he could not have thought the enemy would have been beforehand with him, nor expected they would have engaged so soon, he gave immediate orders, and stood firm with a body of Cossacks and some horse. The Turks, with their sabres in their hands, fell upon him so impetuously, that his battalion was shaken, and in a fright turned their backs upon the third onset. Deserted by his soldiers, he was obliged to fly with them; and being briskly pursued, and scarcely known by his own men, he narrowly escaped being stifled in the midst of the press. Twice a Turkish soldier attempted to cut off his head; and

and if a gentleman, and the master of his horse, who never left him, had not diverted those fatal blows, the great Sobieski, who had escaped the dangers of so many battles, must have lost his life in that skirmish. He was so fatigued, and covered with dust, sweat and blood, and so spent with the heat of the weather and the engagement, that he was not able to sit upon his horse. His head declined upon his breast, and as he was fat and heavy, he was in danger of being either suffocated or falling into the hands of the enemy. His gentleman and the master of the horse took hold of him by one arm, and keeping his head up straight for fear of suffocation, they let go the bridles of their horses, and so escaped.

Vengeance, however, followed close at the heels of this affront. A report was spread among the Turks, that the king was slain. Fired with their advantage, and freed from the fear of that terrible thunderer, they desired of Kara Mustafa, a supply of troops, to exterminate the remains of the Christian army. The grand vizir immediately dispatched a numerous body of horse, and ordered Tekeli to advance toward Barkham with 30,000 men under his command; but before these supplies could arrive, Sobieski got the start of the enemy. In short, upon the 11th of October, two days after the defeat, the king got on horseback by break of day, and put his troops in order of battle. The right wing he commanded in person, the left he committed to the grand general of the crown, and gave the center to the prince of Lorrain.

Rage and fury seemed to animate the Turks upon the first onset, and to supply their want of numbers. The Christian troops fell upon them

with a rapidity equal to their resistance. The bashas of Buda, Silestria, and Caramania, made prodigious efforts, and long suspended the victory, which the courage of the king of Poland, and the good order he had established, at last carried in favour of the Christians. Sobieski, by placing himself in the right wing, as we have already observed, had a design to fall down toward the river, and throw himself betwixt the enemy and their bridge. When their ardour began to abate, he stretched out his forces by little and little into the lower plain, and drew toward the Danube. Upon this motion the Infidels, who were apprehensive for their bridge and the fort of Barkham, broke their ranks to get thither before him. They were briskly pursued, and soon thrown into confusion. The way was too narrow to receive them all. Part cast themselves into the Danube, and there perished. Others expired under the sword of the conqueror. A great number ran toward the bridge, which being overladen, was broken down. A most dreadful slaughter then followed. Barkham was attacked by the Polish foot, and carried by assault. The soldiers gave way to their fury, and glutted their hatred against the Infidels. It was in vain to throw down their arms; they spared none. They refused to hearken to a capitulation; and the conquerors, deaf to the voices of their own officers, would not be prevailed on to desist from slaughter till there were no more enemies to be slain. There fell that day 12,000 Turks.

The action was over, and the Christian army already conquerors, when Tekeli appeared upon the neighbouring mountains; but upon seeing the defeat of his allies, he retreated. It has been thought that his dilatoriness was a consequence of

the intelligence he held with the king of Poland, and that he might have come up sooner. The grand vizir suspected it, and caused him to be taken up some time after. The fruit of this victory was the conquest of Gran, which surrendered after a siege of five days. The sultan attributed the loss of that city to the negligence and inability of Kara Mustapha, and caused him to be strangled.

After this glorious campaign, Sobieski set forward upon his return into his own dominions. In his march he made himself master of Zatkín, which broke all the schemes of the Infidels, who had resolved to fall upon him in his retreat. A few days after, the Poles defeated an army of 40,000 Turks and Tartars near Filgrotn. The Cossacks, Moldavians, and Wallachians then entered the province of Butriac, where they slew above 100,000 persons.

1684. The next year the king of Poland entered into a league offensive and defensive with the emperor, and the republic of Venice, against the Turks. While the Imperialists were engaged upon the Danube, and the Venetians in the Morea, the Poles were to employ the forces of the Infidels by an attack on the side of Wallachia. By a secret article of this treaty it was stipulated, that this province and Moldavia should be absolutely subject to Sobieski, and that he might dispose of them to his eldest son. Two years after, the king drew the czar of Muscovy into this league, with the hospodar of Moldavia, who promised to declare for him as soon as the Poles should set footing in his country.

Sobieski marched toward this expedition with all imaginable ardour. The advantages his family would derive, were a powerful motive
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to engage him in it. He was followed by the bravest spirits in all Poland. All the lords and generals entered into the service, and the republic had not for a long time sent abroad so numerous and well-disciplined an army. The campaign was opened in the beginning of July. The king would command in person, though the lords complained that he took from them the best part of their glory; and this jealousy had already occasioned some divisions. The army entered Moldavia, passed the Pruth, and leaving it on the right, traversed vast plains, without the appearance of any enemy. They expected indeed to meet the hospodar, who, by a private treaty made with him, was to join his forces to the Poles; but the perfidious Cantemir had changed his mind, and was gone over to the Infidels. The king made himself master of all the places in the province, and found no opposition to his conquests. But the difficulty was how to preserve a country that lay quite open, without any one strong place in it.

After a march of four and twenty Moldavian leagues, every one of which is as much as five English ones, without meeting with an enemy, that he might not lose the fruit of that expedition, Sobieski resolved upon proceeding as far as the borders of the Black Sea, and laying siege to Akierman or Bialogrod, in the Dubriac province of the Lesser Tartary, upon the frontiers of Moldavia. The army then turned toward that quarter, but soon found it impossible to go forward, for the Tartars had laid the whole country desolate, and had left neither forage nor provision.

Sobieski then quitted this design to march along the Danube; but this scheme was attended with

with greater difficulties than the former. So many rocks, woods, and narrow lanes, lay in the way, that, beside the danger of ambuscades, they had cause to apprehend the road was so impassable, that the army must have perished if they had advanced too far. They therefore returned toward the Pruth; when the Tartars and Moldavians came down from their mountains, and shewed themselves in the valley. As the corn and hay were full-grown and dry, their detachments set fire to the fields, as the negroes of Congo do in Africa to drive away the lions and leopards, and the Christian troops often saw themselves covered with flames and ashes. Beside this, they were obliged to engage in several places, and always in a situation of disadvantage. The greatest danger, however, was in crossing the Buccovines, which were vast solitudes, interspersed with ditches and narrow passes between the Pruth and one part of the Krapac mountains. The Tartars proposed there to have quite destroyed the Polish army, when, shut up in a kind of prison, they would not have been in a condition to defend themselves. To this end they placed an ambuscade upon the side of a brook, which flowed out of a rock near a narrow passage, lined on each side by a steep rock, and through which the Poles were obliged to march. They were upon the point of falling into this snare, when a deserter luckily came to give them notice of the danger which threatened them. Informed of the place, and the nature of the ambuscade, the king detached Rewowski, the treasurer of the crown, with a body of select soldiers, who, climbing up the mountain, fell upon the Tartars from behind, as they lay asleep, and entirely routed them. The army then marched
forward

forward without any apprehension, and happily arrived at Snyatin in Pokatja. This expedition had not indeed the success which was expected; but this was so far from casting a blemish upon the reputation of Sobieski, that it served only to augment his glory.

The king stood in need of all his courage and experience to prevent any fatal effects from the Moldavian's treachery. Not seeing him come up, he was for marching into the Budziac, or as far as the Danube. His courage led him thither; and he would have compassed his designs, if the ways had been passable. In his return, his skill, and the order he caused to be observed, saved his army, and were equivalent to the laurels of a victory. The ten thousand Greeks, whose story is given by Xenophon, were not exposed to greater dangers, nor retreated out of Persia with more honour, than did the Poles from the mountains of Moldavia.

Sobieski was at this time the most glorious monarch that had ever filled the throne of Poland; yet on his return in triumph to his kingdom, the great lords began to suspect that he intended to render the crown hereditary in his family. Their distrust even went so far, that they had refused to support him in the late campaigns against the Turks in Podolia and Moldavia. Though he took Gran, yet his expeditions, being chiefly made at his own expence, were far from being answerable to the former honour he had acquired, and some of them were unsuccessful, though conducted with the greatest abilities and courage.

For some time before his death, he had declined appearing at the head of the army, either from an inclination to silence the complaints of the lords

lords who were displeased that he gave them no opportunity of distinguishing themselves, or that his age and sickness would not admit of the fatigue. Yet good fortune still accompanied his troops, for Count Jablonowski, grand general of the kingdom, and Sapieha, grand general of Lithuania, gained a victory over the Turks and Tartars near Nieſta. The infidels left 4000 of their men upon the field of battle, and lost besides 5000 waggons loaded with provisions and ammunition designed for Kaminiec, together with the money that was to pay the garrison. The Poles are said to have lost but twelve men in the action.

On the 17th of June 1696 (the anniversary of his succession to the throne) died the heroic and magnanimous Sobieski, at Villanow near Warsaw, having lived 66 years, and reigned 22. A character like his will be pleasing to contemplate.

Raised to a throne by his courage, his after conduct shewed that he deserved his good fortune. He knew to combine a good taste for the sciences with a thorough knowledge of the art of war, and could as well harangue in a diet, as fight at the head of an army. If he heaped up riches, and seemed of a sparing disposition, the interest of the republic always got the better of his temper. While he was yet no more than marshal of the crown, he made frequent use of his wealth toward dispersing those vast armies of Tartars and Cossacks which invaded the kingdom with so much fury; and in the campaign of Vienna, he distributed his treasures with a kind of prodigality, which was so much the more commendable, that if he was naturally fond of laying

ing up riches, he sacrificed his own inclination to the necessities of the state.

Vienna saved, and several other exploits, have immortalized the name of Sobieski. If he did not recover Kaminić, as he gave cause to hope that he would upon his coming to the crown, the reason was, because the republic had then neither cannon, powder, nor engineers. And what could Sobieski do in this condition? His courage, through the want of his subjects assistance, was constrained against his inclination to remain inactive. In the following reign the Turks gave back Kaminić; and this restitution ought rather to be looked upon, in some sort, as a consequence of the victories which Sobieski and the Imperialists his allies had gained over the enemies of the Christian name, than attributed to any efforts of Augustus and the Poles for the recovery of that important place.

Sobieski had brought the Cossacks under much greater subjection than they were before; the Muscovites were his allies; the Turks were beaten in every quarter, and presumed not to enter upon his frontiers; the kingdom, enriched with their spoils, enjoyed a profound peace; while the king, at the head of his troops, was exposed to all the hazards of war in an enemy's country; and lastly, he had carried the glory of the nation to the highest point of perfection.

Yet this prince, so deserving of the throne, met with most ungrateful subjects. The emperor shewed but little gratitude for the services he had rendered him; and the court of Vienna, not satisfied with refusing Prince James the arch-duchess, who had been promised him, opposed the marriage of that young prince with the princess Radzivil.

Radzivil. The Poles likewise but ill requited the good offices of Sobieski. The house of Sapieha, which he had drawn from obscurity, and raised to the highest offices in the duchy of Lithuania, conspired against him in 1683. Radzieiowski his relation, for whom he had procured a cardinal's cap, and had advanced him to the dignity of primate, became his enemy. Wielopolski, the brother-in-law to the queen, joined with the prelate; and it is said, these two lords had formed a faction to dethrone their benefactor.

When Charles XII. of Sweden entered Cracow, he visited the tomb of John Sobieski in order to pay a mark of respect to the memory of that great monarch. He is reported, as he hung with reverence over his sepulchre, to have cried out, "What a pity that so great a man should ever die!" May we not also exclaim, what a pity that a person, so impressed with a sense of Sobieski's virtues, should adopt only the military part of his character for the object of his imitation! How infinitely inferior is the Swedish to the Polish sovereign! The former, dead to all the finer feelings of humanity, was awake only to the calls of ambition; every other sentiment being lost in the ardour for military honours. If personal courage be sufficient to constitute a hero, he possessed that quality in an eminent degree; but it was rather the bravery of a common soldier than of a general. Sobieski, even in that view of his character, has an equal title to fame: for his valour was no less distinguished; and in one respect was superior, as it was not clouded with rashness, but was tempered with prudence. Though the first general of his age, he placed not his sole ambition in military glory; he was great in peace as well as in war: by the union of talents belonging

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ing to each department, he defended his country from impending danger, raised her from her falling state, and delayed during his reign the æra of her decline; while Charles, who was deficient in civil virtues, plunged Sweden, which he found highly prosperous, into ruin and desolation. In a word, Charles had the enthusiasm of a knight-errant, and Sobieski the virtues of a hero.

But the æra of John Sobieski, splendid in itself, appears more luminous, when contrasted with the darkness which preceded and followed. The reigns of his immediate predecessor and successor were convulsed with internal commotions; but the spirit of discord and anarchy was laid for a time by his transcendent genius. Under his auspices Poland seemed to revive from the calamities which had long oppressed her, and again to recover her ancient splendour: such is the powerful ascendancy of a great and superior mind. His military talents require no other testimony than the victory of Choczim, the recovery of the Ukraine, repeated defeats of the Turks and Tartars, and the delivery of Vienna: while an exact insight into the laws and constitution of his country, a manly and persuasive eloquence, a love and protection of literature, an accurate knowledge of foreign languages, and an unceasing habit of affability, moderation, and temperance, render him no less an object of our admiration in his civil capacity.* But the monarch, who

* Dr. South, in his account of Poland, thus describes John Sobieski: "The king is a very well-spoken prince, very easy of access, and extreme civil, having most of the qualities requisite to form a complete gentleman. He is not only well-versed in all military affairs, but likewise, through the means of a French education, very opulently stored with all polite and scholastical learning. Besides his own tongue, the Sclavonian, he understands the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turk-
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who could allay the ferments of public faction, could not suppress the domestic dissensions of his own family; and the same great prince, who kept a turbulent people in awe, and chastised the most formidable enemies, was himself under the control of his consort, a French lady*, of exquisite beauty and elegant manners, but of restless intrigue, insatiable avarice, and inordinate ambition. This unprincipled woman fomented a spirit of disunion and jealousy among her children; and loaded her eldest son with every species of indignity. She formed and supported an administration called, by way of derision, the Jewish junto; and introduced into the royal household a narrow parsimony unbecoming the dignity of a powerful sovereign: in a word, by a series of offensive and wicked measures, she lost her husband the affection of his subjects; and rendered the close of his reign as odious, as the preceding part had been popular and glorious.

The decline of Sobieski's life was clouded with affliction. He felt himself a prey to a lingering disease†; yet, instead of deriving any comfort from his nearest connections, he experienced an aggravation of his distress from the unnatural contests of his children, and the intriguing spirit of his queen. The decay of his authority, and the indecent cabals almost openly carrying on for the choice of his successor, affected in the strongest manner a person of his extreme sensibility: his subjects, instead of lamenting, seemed eager-

" in languages: he delights much in natural history, and in all the parts of physic. He is wont to reprimand the clergy for not admitting the modern philosophy, such as Le Grand's and Cartesius's, into the universities and schools," &c. South's *Posthumous Works*, p. 24.

* Marie de la Grange.

† His illness was a complication of disorders, gout, stone, asthma, dropsy.

ly to anticipate his dissolution. Yet, in this deplorable state, the king's equanimity, founded on religion and philosophy, did not forsake him; and he retained, even upon his death-bed, that mixture of seriousness and gaiety, strength of reasoning and quickness of repartee, which so strongly marked his character. Some striking incidents, immediately preceding his death, are transmitted to us by the chancellor Zaluski bishop of Plotzko, who was present when he expired.

Some alarming symptoms in Sobieski's disorder having awakened the queen's solicitude respecting the succession to his fortune, she earnestly importuned Zaluski to present himself before the king, and insinuate some advice concerning the disposition of his affairs. The bishop, when he entered the apartment, finding the king in an agony of excruciating pain*, endeavoured to give him comfort and hopes of recovery. But Sobieski replied, "I foresee my approaching death; my situation will be the same to-morrow as it is to-day; all consolation is now too late:" then, fetching a deep sigh, his majesty asked him "why he came so seldom to court, and in what manner he employed himself at his diocese alone?" Zaluski, after expatiating upon the duties of his episcopal office and the resources of literature, artfully turned the discourse to the business in question. "Lately," said he, "I have been employed in no very agreeable, yet necessary duty: weighing the frail condition of human nature, remembering, that as Socrates and Plato, so all men must die; and considering the dissensions which may arise among my relations after my decease, I have taken an inventory of my effects, and have disposed of

* Zaluski, *Epist.* vol. III. p. 5—14.

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“ them by will.” The king, who saw the purport of his discourse, interrupted him with a loud laugh, and exclaimed, in a quotation from Juvenal *, “ *O medici, mediam contundite venam.*”

“ What, my lord bishop! you whose judgment and good sense I have so long esteemed, do you make your will? What an useless loss of time!” &c. Not discouraged by this sally, the bishop persevered in suggesting, “ that in justice to his family and country he ought without delay to regulate the disposition of his effects, and to declare his final inclinations.”

---“ For God’s sake,” returned Sobieski with a more serious tone, “ do not suppose that any good will arise in this age, when vice has increased to such an enormous degree, as almost to exclude all hopes of forgiveness from the mercy of the Deity! Do you not see how great is the public iniquity, tumult, and violence? all strive who shall blend good and evil without distinction: the morals of my subjects are overturned; will you again restore them? My orders are not attended to while I am alive; can I expect to be obeyed when I am dead? That man is happy, who with his own hand disposes of his effects, which cannot be entrusted with security to his executors; while they who bequeath them by a will act absurdly, for consigning to the care of others what is more secure in the hands of their nearest relations. Have not the regulations of the kings my predecessors been despised after their deaths? Where corruption universally prevails, judgment is obtained by money; the voice of conscience is not heard, and reason and equity are

* Juvenal, Sat. VI. l. 40. “ Open a vein.” In applying this passage, the king meant to insinuate that the bishop was mad.

“no more.” Then suddenly giving a ludicrous turn to the conversation, he exclaimed, “What can you say to this, Mr. Will-maker!”

Sobieski left behind him his wife Marie de la Grange, three sons, James, Alexander, and Constantine, and one daughter Theresa Cunigunda. Marie his wife, daughter of Henry de la Grange captain of the guards to Philip duke of Orleans, and of Frances de la Chartre, was maid of honour to Louisa queen of Ladislaus IV. She was first married to Radzivil prince of Zamoski; within a month after his decease she espoused John Sobieski in secret, and brought him in dower a large portion and the favour of his sovereign. Her influence over her husband, and the ill use she made of her power, have been already observed.

James Louis, the eldest son of Sobieski, was born at Paris in 1667. He accompanied his father to the relief of Vienna, in the sixteenth year of his age; and narrowly escaped being slain in an action near Banan in Hungary. He afterwards gave such signal proofs of his military talents, that, upon his father's indisposition in the campaign of 1687 against the Turks, he was entrusted with the command of the army, although only in the 21st year of his age; and received from the soldiers all the honours usually paid only to the kings of Poland: a singular mark of deference in an elective monarchy, and which gave encouragement to an expectation of the throne at his father's decease. His father promoted this view with the utmost exertion of his interest; but it was entirely disconcerted by the indiscretion of the prince, and the restless intrigues of the queen; who, having conceived the strongest antipathy to her eldest son, and a no less violent predilection in
favour

favour of her second son Alexander, a prince of a more tractable disposition, sacrificed the dignity of her family to a blind impulse of parental partiality.

Sobieski had scarcely expired, before the cabals, which even his authority could hardly suppress, broke out with undissembled violence. The division of the king's treasure caused the most indecent disputes and altercations between his widow and children. James, without a moment's delay, endeavoured, though in vain, to seize it by force, being anticipated by the queen *, who, with the assistance of the abbé Polignac, sent it into France. She had three great objects in view: either to obtain the crown for Alexander, whom she was secure of governing; to promote the election of Count Jablonowski, great general of the crown, with an intention of marrying him; or to favour the pretensions of the prince of Conti, warmly supported by Louis XIV. At all events she was firmly resolved to procure the exclusion of her eldest son; and this was the only point she carried. Had the family of Sobieski been unanimous, James would have been elected king; but no submission † could soften the implacable

* The queen sent 3,000,000 French livres = £. 125,000, into France. Larrey, Hist. Louis XIV. v. II. p. 297.

† Zaluski has given the following curious instance of the queen's implacability: "I and other senators accompanied prince James to the queen's at Bieltz, but her majesty being informed of our approach, retired precipitately from the palace in order to avoid the interview; we overtook her about a mile from Bieltz, and ordered the driver to stop, while she repeatedly urged him to continue his route: at length the coachman, alarmed by our number and threats, stopped the carriage. On our advancing to the queen, she received us with great marks of displeasure; and although the prince prostrated himself before her, and embraced her feet with the most profound respect, he was not able to extort from her more than a short and evasive answer. Upon his retiring, with his eyes full of

placable resentment of the queen, who, even when she found it impracticable to secure the election of her favourite son Alexander, or to compass any of her other designs, both in secret and openly set herself in opposition to the pretensions of James. When the diet of convocation assembled at Warsaw, the queen summoned a meeting of senators and nuncios in her apartment, whom she addressed in regard to her son with all the virulence which inveterate fury could inspire, and all the affected candour towards the Poles which the most consummate hypocrisy could suggest. "Although I am not by birth a Pole, I am one by inclination; and am more attached to this nation than to my own family. Reflect maturely whom you will nominate your king in the place of my much-regretted husband; and I sincerely recommend to you not to elect one of my children. I too well know all their dispositions; and particularly caution you not to raise to the throne the eldest prince James. His inconsiderate rashness will involve the kingdom in speedy and inevitable ruin." The bishop of Plotzko, though her creature, disgusted at these appearances of unnatural rancour, importuned her to desist; but she exclaimed with greater violence: "Do not interrupt me; I will never retract what I have said, as I prefer the safety of the republic to my own interests and the splendour of my family. I again exhort the Poles to elect any candidate in preference to one of my children." This virulent opposition to the views of her eldest son was but too successful: he was rejected by a great

"tears, I myself used some endeavours to soften her resentment; which, however, had no other effect than to draw from her additional expressions of disgust and indignation." Zaluski, vol. III. p. 135.

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majority, and the choice of the nation fell upon Augustus elector of Saxony.

The sequel of the history of Sobieski's family, now reduced to a private station, will be comprised in a short compass. After the defeat of Augustus II. at the battle of Cliflow, Charles XII. determined to give a new king to Poland; and his veneration for the memory of John Sobieski induced him to offer that dignity to his eldest son. In consequence of this resolution, Augustus was declared by the primate unworthy to reign; and a diet of election was convened at Warsaw. James was then at Breslaw, impatiently expecting his nomination to the throne so worthily filled by his father, and from which he had been deprived by the unprecedented malice of a mother. But the usual singularity of his ill-fortune still pursued him: as he was hunting with his brother Constantine, a small detachment of Saxon horsemen surprised and carried him off; and, instead of receiving a crown, he was confined in the castle of Pleissenburgh near Leipzig. Constantine might have escaped; but, from an impulse of fraternal affection, he voluntarily accompanied his brother into confinement, and administered consolation under this grievous reverse of fortune. This event happened on the 28th of February, 1704.

In the month of September, 1706, the two brothers were removed to the fortress of Koningstein, as to a place of still greater security; but in December of the same year fortunately obtained their enlargement, upon the request of Charles XII. at the conclusion of the celebrated treaty with Augustus II. in which the latter was compelled to abdicate the throne of Poland. This abdication, however, did not revive the preten-

sions of James to the crown, the election having fallen, during his confinement, upon Stanislaus Letzinski. From this period James passed a private and retired life, and seems to have entirely renounced all his views upon the crown of Poland. He died in 1737 at Zolkiew in Red Russia, in the 70th year of his age; and in him, as the last male of his family, the name of Sobieski became extinct. His wife was Hedwige Eleonora *, daughter of Philip William elector palatine; by her he left two daughters, Mary Charlotte and Clementina Mary.

The eldest, Mary Charlotte, married in 1723 Frederic Maurice de la Tour duke of Bouillon, who dying within a few days after the marriage, she espoused, with a dispensation from the pope, his brother Charles Godfrey the same year. By him she left issue a son, the present duke of Bouillon, married to a lady of the house of Lorraine,

* Sister of Eleonora Magdalena wife of the emperor Leopold. James had been first contracted in marriage to the widow of the elector of Brandenburg's brother, a rich heiress of the house of Radzivil in Lithuania, but upon this occasion he first experienced that ill fortune which afterwards attended him through life. "An
"envoy was sent to Berlin to negotiate the marriage, which was
"agreed upon by the elector's and her consent, and the prince
"himself came thither in person, with a numerous attendance,
"to consummate it. At the same time came to Berlin the elec-
"tor palatine's brother, prince Charles of Newburg, brother to
"the empress, to see the ceremony of the marriage; but this
"princess, taking more fancy to him than to the prince of Po-
"land, gave him encouragement to make his addresses to her;
"which he did with that success, that he engaged her so far and
"so unexpectedly, that he was privately married to her the
"night before she was to be married to the prince of Poland, so
"that prince James was forced to return back shamefully: which
"the king his father resented so highly, that he was resolved to
"have satisfaction from the elector of Brandenburg, for suffer-
"ing his son to receive so notorious an affront at his court; but
"the elector, knowing nothing of that private intrigue, justified
"himself, and all animosities were at last adjusted by prince
"James's marrying his rival's sister the princess of Newburg,
"who was sent into Poland, and has two daughters by him." Connor's History of Poland, v. II. p. 188, 189.

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and a daughter, who espoused the duke of Rohan-Rohan. In these noble persons and their progeny the female line of Sobieski still exists.

Clementina Mary, the youngest daughter of prince James, married at Montefiascone, in 1719, James Edward Stuart, commonly known by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, the pretender to the British throne. This princess, though a woman of great personal and mental endowments, could not engage the affection of her husband; and she was so offended at his attachment to a favourite mistress, that she withdrew from his house, and remained for some time in a convent near Rome. Afterwards, being reconciled to him, she died at Rome on the 18th of June, 1735, aged 33; her death, according to the account of a writer * attached to the Stuart family, was occasioned by religious abstinence and too severe mortifications: her remains were interred with regal pomp in the church of St. Peter, where a monument was erected to her memory. She left two sons by the Chevalier: Charles, usually termed count of Albany, and Henry, cardinal of Yorke. Charles married the princess of Stolberg, by whom he has no children: a misunderstanding not long after their marriage taking place between them, she quitted her husband, and took shelter in a convent in the Tuscan dominions; and, as her quarrel was espoused by the cardinal of Yorke, she obtained a separation for life. We may therefore foresee the extinction of the Sobieski line in the Stuart branch. The ample patrimony of James Sobieski was divided equally between his two daughters. Having lent a considerable sum to the house of

* Letters from a painter in Italy, where her funeral and monument are described, v. II. p. 56.

Austria; he obtained in return a mortgage upon certain estates in Silesia, which, upon the division of the property after his decease, fell to the Stuart family, and were in their possession when the king of Prussia secured Silesia in the year 1740. His Prussian majesty confiscated these lands to himself by right of conquest; and the house of Austria never made any further compensation for the above-mentioned loan.

Alexander, second son of John Sobieski, was born at Dantzic in 1677; and as he was brought into the world after his father had been raised to the throne, he was usually styled by his mother, who adored him, the son of the king; while she affected to call his brother James, who was born before his father's election, the son of the great marshal. Excited by his mother's partiality, and inflamed by an ambition natural to youth, he even aspired to the throne in opposition to his brother James: afterwards however, when a more mature age had corrected his passions, and his mother's influence had ceased to mislead him; he declined, from a principle of fraternal affection, the acceptance of that very crown which had once been the object of his warmest hopes. When Charles XII. upon the imprisonment of James, offered the crown of Poland to Alexander; the latter, with a disinterestedness which reflects the highest honour upon his memory, refused it with this generous declaration, "that no interest should tempt him to avail himself of his brother's misfortunes."

Alexander passed his days principally at Rome with the queen his mother. During his residence in that city, he never made his appearance at the court of Clement XI. because that pontiff had refused to receive him with the marks of distinction

tion which he claimed as a king's son. But the honours which were withheld from him while alive, were granted unto him when dead; his body being permitted to lie in royal state, and to be interred with the same ceremonies, which attended the funeral of Christina queen of Sweden. He expired in June 1714, having assumed upon his death bed the habit of a capuchin, from a superstitious notion of ensuring his salvation.

Constantine, having regained his liberty at the same time with his brother James, married a German baroness, maid of honour to the princess of Newburg; a marriage of passion, soon followed by repentance, and from which he in vain endeavoured to procure a release by a divorce. He deceased in 1726 without children.

Theresa Cunigunda, the daughter of John Sobieski, married in 1696 Maximilian Emanuel elector of Bavaria, and died a widow 1730. Her son Charles Albert, who succeeded to the electorate of Bavaria, was the unfortunate emperor Charles VII. and her grandson Maximilian Joseph expired 1778 without issue. Her granddaughter Maria Antoinetta married Frederic Christian elector of Saxony; and the blood of John Sobieski still flows in the veins of their progeny, the present electoral family.

Marie de la Grange, the consort of John Sobieski, passed the first part of her widowhood at Rome with her father the marquis of Arquien, who, from being captain of the Swiss guards to the duke of Orleans, had been promoted by her interest to the dignity of cardinal. She continued to reside in that city until the year 1714, when she retired into France, her native country. Louis XIV. assigned the castle of Blois for her residence, where she died in 1716, above 70
years

years of age. Her remains were transported to Warsaw, and from thence conveyed, together with those of her husband, in 1734, to Cracow, and interred in the cathedral of that city.

AFTER this long digression, wherein we have traced the fortunes of the Sobieski family individually, we return to the period of that monarch's decease, and pursue the regular course of the Polish history; in our progress through which, the reader will perceive some circumstances recorded which were necessarily anticipated in the preceding pages.

1696. Immediately on the demise of Sobieski, Cardinal Radzieiowski, archbishop of Gnesna, and primate of the kingdom, came to Warsaw, where he made his entry as regent during the interregnum.

Within two days after, the senate met and fixed the convocation of the dietines throughout the kingdom to the 29th of July, and the diet of election to the 29th of August in the same year. The private assemblies of each district were full of tumult and confusion; and the only article of moment to which they agreed was, that the election should be made by the pospolite, or assembly of the nobility of the kingdom.

The preliminary diet was opened on the 29th of August; and after very warm debates, the deputies made choice of Humiecki, Stolnick or master of Podolia, the nephew of the palatine of Kiow, to be marshal of the diet, or director of the convocation. The new marshal recommended himself to the nobility by his great zeal in supporting the honour and interest of that principal body of the nation; and the deputies also took part with him in a small difference he had with the cardinal primate. The cardinal, offended with

with some insinuations to the prejudice of the queen, which the marshal had indirectly let fall in a discourse he made to the senate, had interrupted him, and desired that he would explain what he meant by certain expressions in his speech. Humiecki in his turn, affronted at the cardinal's demand, said that the whole body of the nobility was insulted in his person; and the deputies, to shew that they resented the injury, left the room, with the greatest part of the senators, who all took pleasure in giving this mortification to the primate, as his zeal for the queen had made him a partaker in the general hatred which they bore toward that princess.

While the Poles were mutually expressing their jealousies in the diet, the Tartars made an irruption into Podolia, carried off a great number of slaves of every age and condition, drove away the cattle, and set fire to the fields of corn. The army of Poland marched toward those quarters, to put a stop to their ravages; and had they been joined by the forces of Lithuania, would, doubtless, have effectually prevented them; but none of the misfortunes of the republic were sufficient to make the latter army move one step.

The republic, thus become a prey to strangers, was likewise torn to pieces by its own subjects. Boguslaus Baronowski, a gentleman whose family had been ennobled by having given birth to an archbishop of Gnesna, was left by his father with so small an estate, that he was in no condition to live as became his quality. He had likewise spent the small fortune his wife brought him, whom indeed he had married only for her money. Under these circumstances of Boguslaus, the army of the crown demanded the arrears that were due to them; and this gentleman, who looked upon
poverty

poverty as the greatest of evils, seized the opportunity to make his fortune. "And is this then," (cry'd he to the mutineers) "is this the reward of our blood so often shed in defence of the republic, that we must be left to perish? Ah! rather let us be beforehand with the Turks and Tartars. Let us take from them the means of plundering the frontiers, by paying ourselves with our own hands, and carrying off thence whatever we can. Yet, why should I call it carrying off? It is preserving the substance of the republic; for by this means the enemy will be disappointed of their prey, and the republic discharged of its debts."

These sentiments of Boguslaus were too agreeable to the intentions of the seditious to meet with any contradiction. On such occasions the eyes of the multitude are fixed upon him who has most boldness and resolution. Boguslaus was unanimously proclaimed general of the army, and they thinly disguised their revolt under the name of *the Confederation*.

The new general laid a great part of the country under contribution, and presently after dispatched his deputies to the senate. When they came thither, they boldly demanded, that the army, which consisted of 30,000 men, should be paid all the arrears which were due to them for ten years past. These demands were accompanied with menaces, and all stood amazed to see the republic thus braved by its subjects, and laws in this manner attempted to be imposed upon it.

But this demand, though made by mutineers, was notwithstanding just. All the world was convinced, that it was both reasonable and necessary, but the means were wanting to satisfy it, as the finances had been for some time past in the hands

hands of that sort of people who live upon the misfortunes of the public. It was then proposed to apply the treasures hoarded up by Sobieski to this use; but the retreat and protestations of the deputy of Czernichovia warded off so fatal a blow from the royal family.

This step broke up the diet, which could not be renewed but by the removal of the opposition. Part of the deputies, however, agreed upon thirteen articles, which principally concerned the establishment of the Romish religion, the liberty of the election, which was limited to the time interposed betwixt the 15th of May and the 16th of June; the payment of the army, and the affairs of the late king's household. One of these articles excluded all the Piasfs, or natives of the country, from the crown, that by this means all troubles might be prevented which could arise from jealousy.

There were likewise some fruitless attempts in the diet to make up the differences between prince Sapieha, the palatine of Wilna, and grand general of Lithuania, and the bishop of Wilna, who had excommunicated him for quartering his troops upon the estates of the nobility and clergy. Some time after the breaking up of the diet, the army of Lithuania entered into a confederation, under the command of Oginski, grand ensign of the duchy. The estates of Sapieha and his adherents were plundered by these new rebels, who marched against them, and cut off a great number of them.

While Sapieha was obstinately sacrificing them to his own vengeance, rather than to the tranquillity of the public, his couriers intercepted a letter from the palatine of Vitepsk to the queen; in which he conjured her to dispatch with all speed

speed a fresh supply of money, to rescue Oginski from the danger to which he was exposed. Sapieha caused this letter to be registered, and sent a copy of it to all the dietines throughout the kingdom, charging the queen with the revolt of the army of Lithuania. The lesser diets received the impression which the grand general intended they should, and the queen's party was so shocked with this unforeseen accident, that they afterwards withdrew themselves from public notice.

The Abbé de Polignac, ambassador of France in Poland, building his hopes on these late circumstances, and perceiving that the troubles of Lithuania would be an obstacle to the carrying on of his designs, prevailed upon the son of Sapieha, petty marshal of the duchy, and an intimate acquaintance of Oginski, to labour at an accommodation with his old friend: and one of the private conditions of the treaty was to be the union of the two parties in favour of the candidate whom the ambassador of France should propose.

The Abbé Polignac's project succeeded, and the agreement being signed, the confederates submitted to the grand general. Oginski was very much blamed for coming to an accommodation, without including the bishop of Wilna, who had been the pretext of the confederation.

In the mean time, the army of Poland, under the command of Boguslaus, plundered Russia, while the Tartars, to the number of 50,000, laid waste Volhinia. They returned loaded with spoils, carrying back with them a great number of slaves into their own country. There were, but few faithful troops at this time left to the republic to restrain the irruptions of the Tartars; and these had business enough upon their hands from the

the confederate army. Poland was under the apprehension of a second irruption from those barbarians, when the French ambassador offered to divert the storm by compounding the business with the Sultan for 100,000 florins. Such were the methods made use of by that able minister to fix the Poles more firmly in his interest, whom he had already gained by his magnificence and politeness, and by that noble address and openness of behaviour which never fail of procuring respect and confidence.

1697. In the mean time, all the negotiations with the confederate army fell to the ground. The general of those troops plundered the country adjacent to Warsaw, and detached twelve companies, which entered into Royal Prussia. They more particularly ravaged the estate of the late king's family; which raised a suspicion that the ambassador of France held some correspondence with them, and that he was desirous to put the royal family out of a condition to support their interest in the ensuing election, that the candidate proposed by him might find no obstacle from that quarter. The politicians likewise gave out, that he had promised those troops all the pay that was due to them, beside liberal contributions for their voices.

One bold and timely stroke, however, proved a more powerful remedy than all the applications which, till then, had been made to the rebels. Boguslaus, who was ever at the head of the confederates, disowned the treaty concluded by his deputies at Leopold, and ventured to justify his conduct by a manifesto. The commissioners of the republic assembled in that city, to bring back the army to their duty, made a decree, by which the marshal of the confederation, and his soldiers,

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were

were declared enemies to their country. A great number of the confederates found in Boguslaus a mere tyrant, and seemed disposed to quit his colours, and to accept the indemnity offered them by the republic. This general had indeed excited their envy by a profusion, which would scarcely have been pardonable in a sovereign prince. Beside, having disclaimed the deputies of the army, who treated with the bishop of Płotsko, and the other commissioners of the republic, at Leopold, he had condemned the principal of them to lose his head. This arbitrary proceeding gained him the disaffection of the confederates, and excited compassion for the miserable deputy. Supporting the jealousy they had already conceived against the general, forty companies divided from the rest of the army, who were upon the point of following their example. Boguslaus, fully sensible of the blow which this defection gave to his authority, and apprehending that he might not soon be in so good a condition to obtain advantageous terms, hastened to submit, that he might not draw upon himself the indignation of the diet, which was then upon the point of meeting. Count Jablonowski, who was suspected to be at the bottom of the confederation, promoted the treaty, and took great care to efface the smallest footsteps of that rebellion.

Such was then the situation of Poland, whose misfortunes arising from the private intrigues of the pretenders to the crown, were every day increasing. At first there appeared but a small number of candidates upon the stage, but they soon after offered themselves in great abundance. Prince James, the late king's eldest son, his second son prince Alexander, the elector of Bavaria, the grand marshal of the crown, the grand
general

General of Lithuania, Opalinius starost of Nowemicyſki, the princes of Conti, Lorrain, Baden, and Newburg, were all upon the liſts.

Befide the favour of the palatinates, the advantages on prince James's ſide were, the ſervices done by his father ; the reputation himſelf had gained in two battles againſt the Turks, and at the raiſing of the ſiege of Vienna ; the alliance he had contracted with divers ſovereign powers, by eſpouſing a princeſs of Newburg, whoſe ſiſters ſhared the thrones of the Empire, Spain, and Portugal ; the inclinations of the king of Sweden, the czar of Muſcovy, the elector palatine, and the elector of Bavaria.

But all theſe advantages were counterbalanced by the queen his mother, who was eagerly bent on placing her ſecond ſon upon the throne. Prince James, in great indignation at the queen's conduct, forbore to pay her the reſpect which was due to a mother. And for her part, if ever ſhe recollected that he was her ſon, it was only to give an edge to her hatred, and to diſſerve him with the greater warmth ; but ſhe paid dear for her ill treatment of him. Convinced at laſt by time, that it was impoſſible for her to raiſe her ſecond ſon to the throne, ambition wrought in her the office of nature : ſhe eſpouſed the intereſt of her eldeſt ſon, talked of him in a different language from what ſhe had hitherto uſed, and deſcribed him in moſt amiable colours. But it was then too late, and the impreſſion ſhe had already made, was too deep to be effaced. It was to no purpoſe that ſhe ſolicited the ambaffador of France to join with her in favour of prince James : that miniſter was far from entering into her views ; he had even made an advan-

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age of the divisions between the mother and the son, to weaken the interest of the latter, and help forward the scheme of setting the crown of Poland upon the head of the Prince of Conti. Supported by the court of France, and beloved by the Polish nobility, who allowed him the liberty of continuing at Warsaw, while they persisted in keeping the queen at a distance, he thought it was time to declare the candidate for whose advancement he was solicitous. This he did in a discourse addressed to the diet of Poland. The ambassador spoke with that strong and moving eloquence, which at the same time convinces and persuades. He laid before the Poles the union of Louis XIV. with the late king Sobieski; the alliance of the two nations, almost from time immemorial; the correspondence of manners between the French and Poles; the solidity of the treaties made by the republic under the protection of France, and the power and glory of the king, his master, whose forces he offered them against their enemies: and concluded his discourse with flattering them as the only people who had preserved to themselves the privilege of crowning virtue.

Immediately the opposite parties to the prince of Conti, though divided among themselves by different interests, joined together to set aside his election. All the courts in Europe resounded the complaints which were brought thither, and the ministers of the allies at war with France took care to spread them throughout all Poland.

Nor were these the only methods made use of in prejudice to the prince of Conti. The bishop of Cujavia, to take off from the zeal of Abbé Polignac, wrote to that ambassador, to desire he
would

would desist from any fruitless attempts, and save the king his master the discredit of not succeeding in such an affair as this.

Polignac published the answer he gave to the prelate's letter. After having confuted his objections, he drew the character of such a king as Poland required; described the prince of Conti, compared the two pictures, and shewed their exact resemblance. He displayed in strong terms the advantages the republic would find in the election of a prince of France, whose country was divided from Poland by the interposition of vast seas and immense territories; advantages which could not occur in any princes who, from their neighbourhood to the kingdom, might make them tremble for their liberty. He then made large promises to the nobility, and concluded with desiring the bishop of Cujavia to embrace the party which, as he asserted, was most favourable to the interest of the republic.

This answer did not go without a reply. The author of the reply rallied the Poles for biting at the golden hook which France had cast out for them. He then discussed the reasons and promises of the French ambassador, and concluded with saying, that Poland wanted a king to make was upon the Turks, and not upon Christian princes, which could not morally be expected from the prince of Conti. There were likewise sent abroad some other remarks upon the French minister's letter. But what concerned him most in this affair was, the anger the queen expressed against him, who charged him with having spoken disrespectfully of her, upon the bishop of Cujavia's saying in his letter, that the example of the queen, who was a French woman, diverted Poland from any thoughts of advancing a French prince. She

complained of it to the Abbé de Polignac in a very angry letter. The minister wrote to her majesty, by way of excuse, in hopes to pacify her: but this step produced a reply more full of resentment even than the former.

But these were not the only contradictions Polignac had to struggle with from the enemies of France. After having alarmed the powers of Europe, upon the election of the prince of Conti, and attempted to divert the ambassador from the pursuit of his scheme, they sent word to the court of France, that they suffered themselves to be misled by the enemies of the house of Sobieski; that the great hopes, which made such a shew in the prince of Conti's eyes in France, were but false lights in Poland; and that, lastly, it was a mere chimæra to imagine that Poland would ever set a Frenchman upon the throne of the republic. The ministry of France, without giving ear too much to these insinuations, thought it yet prudent not to pass them over absolutely with neglect. Abbé de Castagneres de Chateauneuf was therefore secretly dispatched in February under the character of envoy extraordinary. Upon his arrival in Poland in the month of April, he confirmed the hopes of the court of France, and sent word, that two things only were wanting to the success of the ambassador's negotiations, which were, the making good his promises, and the prince's presence.

While one part of the Polish nobility was selling the crown to the prince of Conti, the palatinates of Cracow, Siradia, and Leopold, proposed a new candidate; and this candidate was Livio Odescalchi, the nephew of Pope Innocent XI. This prince made mighty offers to the diet; his wealth was set forth with ostentation; and this

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was to be given to the republic as an hostage for the performance of his promises.

The Poles, who are naturally fond of raillery, repaid the Italian's good-will with a pasquinade, and the consistorial advocate Monti-Cassini his envoy had the vexation to see himself traduced as the solicitor of a cause, which, they said, his master was prosecuting in Poland. To these railleries they added, that Odescalchi, to gain his point, was sending over into Poland all the curiosities of Italy, such as the drawings of great masters, and antique statues, which were valued at considerable sums in the catalogue of them which he caused to be sent abroad. They said farther, that he designed a medal of Otho in brass, for the payment of two quarters of the army; and that, lastly, he would engage to grace Poland with the statues of Pasquin and Morforio, as soon as he should be crowned.

The prince of Newburg also appeared among the pretenders, but without money, and far from being the dupe of the elector's avarice.

The prince of Baden likewise, one of the greatest generals of his age, offered himself in the number of the competitors. His valour had secured the throne of the empire, saved Transilvania, and triumphed over the Turks at Salamkemen. Germany owed to him the safety of the confederate army upon the Rhine, and he was beside the lord of a country rich enough to support its prince without injuring his elective dominions, and a country, too, so situate as to give no umbrage to the Polish liberty. The elector of Brandenburg, who served him upon this occasion, made him pay for his interest, by engaging him to promise the cession of the sovereignty of Royal Prussia, and the discharge of the

fealty and homage which that prince owed to Poland for Ducal Prussia.

The duke of Lorraine's mother wrote to the diet in favour of her son; but he was only eighteen years old, and stripped of his dominions, a situation by no means favourable to the purchasing of a crown. It is not now known for what reasons the elector of Bavaria, who might have obtained suffrages, on a sudden forbore to solicit them. Some have said, that he followed the views of the court of Vienna, which had a mind still to continue him at the head of their troops in the Low Countries, in opposition to France; but the interest of another does not seem to be a motive powerful enough to make any man decline the acceptance of a crown.

The grand marshal of the crown, Opalinius the rich starost of Nowemicyski, and the grand general count Jablonowski, the first secular senator in the kingdom, likewise entered the lists. It was thought the queen, despairing of the advancement of her own family, employed the feeble remains of her party in favour of Jablonowski, upon condition that by marrying her, he should give back to her one half of the crown, which he would owe wholly to her interest.

The prince of Conti, born brave, as were all the Bourbons, was beloved by the people for his affability. He was trained up to the art of war under the direction of his uncle the prince of Condé, and had given glorious proofs, not only of his skill in the theory of that science, but of his prudence in the practice, and a thousand other excellent qualifications. Such was the king whom Abbé Polignac offered to Poland. And the competitors of this prince had indeed several adherents, but there were united in him alone
more

more valuable properties than all the rest could together boast of.

The ambassador of France began to think, with all Poland, that the prince of Conti would prevail over his competitors, when a still more formidable rival rose up to stagger his hopes. Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, having had a conference at Dresden with John Przebendowski castellan of Culm, who had married the daughter of general Fleming the favourite of Augustus, and since his first minister, followed the instructions of that Polish gentleman. This castellan, at first, embraced the interest of the prince of Conti; but designing to raise his fortune by his suffrage, and considering that there were a great number in that party, who by their rank and merit would naturally be preferred before him when the prince came to reward those who had raised him to the throne, he resolved to apply himself to a candidate who should owe his advancement only to him. He was a bold man, and formed for political intrigue; but is said to have been not so brave in the field, as wise in a diet. His alliance with Fleming was the origin of the rise of Augustus.

Przebendowski having written to this general, to furnish him with the sentiments of Germany on the election of a king of Poland, Fleming made answer, that the elector of Saxony was desirous of being ranked in the number of the pretenders to the crown. Upon this the castellan privately took a journey to Dresden, and conferred with the elector upon the means of succeeding in his design. He declared to him, that the ambassador of France was not able to get any more money from the bankers, since he had taken up 600,000 livres, which were already distributed among the Poles; that it was hardly probable

probable the king of France would hazard the sending of money *in specie*, especially at a time when it would be difficult to hinder his enemies from seizing upon the supply, of which they very much stood in need toward carrying on the war; that the elector need only make his offers, and he must gain the crown; that the nobility concerned would be always more strongly influenced by ready money, than the sums they had either already received, or were only in hope of having hereafter; and that lastly, among people who fought for nothing but money, the last giver had always more interest than those who had already spent their substance upon them.

The elector, pursuant to these instructions, laid up the funds that were necessary; and having taken his measures with the court of Rome toward removing the obstacle of religion, he privately sent colonel Fleming to Warsaw. This minister presented the ambassador with a letter from the elector. Abbé Polignac was surprized, when they asked him, if he had received no orders from the king, with whom the elector insinuated that he had treated by the mediation of cardinal Janfon. He very civilly answered, that he had no orders; that, beside, he did not know what foundation the elector had for the inquiry; that the hopes of the prince of Conti were never in a better situation than at present; that his electoral highness was perhaps prevailed on by the misreports that were spread abroad, and which were merely an artifice of the queen's; and that, lastly, France would supply him abundantly with all the sums of money that should be requisite upon any occasion.

The court of Dresden, not satisfied with the ambassador's answer, pursued briskly their scheme, which was soon put in practice,

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Meanwhile the day fixed for the diet of election drew nigh. They hastened to finish the fort and bridge which are usually built over the Vistula upon the election of a king; on the 15th of May, the primate opened the diet with the usual ceremonies, and the bishop of Płotsko made a speech, to exhort the Poles to lay aside caballing, and confer the crown upon the most deserving candidate.

The diet however could come to no conclusion before the election of a director or marshal, whom the Greater Poland was to supply. But they could not agree about the choice of this officer. The queen's party, and the faction of France, were desirous that the election should fall upon a person devoted to their particular interests. After great difficulties, it was determined at last to put an end to them, by referring the election of the marshal to the votes of the populace. Humiecki marshal of the preliminary diet, who for that very reason was excluded from all claim to this dignity, collected the voices, and the majority inclined to count Bieliński. Of all the pretenders this lord was the most agreeable to France. He had married the daughter of count Morstein, who had a great estate in that kingdom; and this lady, who had a heart entirely French, had great interest among the two orders of the nobility, and a great ascendancy over her husband.

1698. A month was spent in debates before Bieliński was elected marshal of the diet. It was in this great assembly on the 15th of January 1698, that the crown was actually exposed to sale. The pretenders bid for it to a degree of extravagance; but the avarice of the nobility was too great to be satisfied.

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The agent of the elector of Saxony very properly distributed large sums among the nobility, and omitted nothing that might ruin the opposite parties. He very artfully opposed the deeds of Saxony to the promises of France; and no day passed, but he found means to draw over some voices from the rivals of his master. An affair so well constructed, and supported by such actual performances, laid the foundation of his prince's greatness. He was not ignorant that the contending parties would each keep firm to their respective candidate; but he at the same time foresaw that to avoid a rupture, they would be at last obliged to cast their eyes upon a third person, who would pay them liberally for their voices, which the absolute necessity of coming to an agreement must eventually procure for him.

Nor was he mistaken in his expectations. As the promises of France were not performed, the friends of the prince of Conti, meeting at the cardinal primate's, the palatine of Wilna complained heavily of the delays of France. They thought, however, that the prince's arrival would hasten the fulfilment of the ambassador's promises; and therefore they dispatched letters, which were already drawn up, to press the prince to hasten into Poland.

After many debates, the diet gave audience to the ambassadors of foreign powers. Davia, the pope's nuncio, was heard on the 20th day of the month, and the bishop of Passau, his imperial majesty's ambassador, was admitted on the day following. The superscription of the letter, which that minister presented from his master, gave great offence. The address was, *Inchyte Reipublicæ*. They would have had him have added *serenissimæ*; but he excused himself, by saying, That he could change nothing of his own authority,

rity. This incident, joined to his making use of the word *Vas*, instead of the terms of honour due to a crowned republic, disoblged the assistants to so high a degree, that they violently abused him: notwithstanding this he continued his discourse, but with so much spite and fury, that the blood started from his face, and he was obliged to retire.

Abbé Polignac, informed that prince James's friends were resolved to revenge upon him the affront offered to the emperor's minister, instead of appearing at the diet, printed his offers, and distributed them signed with his hand, and sealed with his arms. By this precaution he avoided exposing his dignity, and disappointed the ill intentions of his enemies.

Difficulties however rose one upon another, and the minister of France stood in need of all his ability to surmount them. The bishop of Plotko, Dzialinski, and Wapowski, came to him from the council, and told him, that as he had not yet been able to make good his promises, it seemed impossible to avoid the rupture of which they were apprehensive; and lastly, that there was but one way of securing the tranquillity of the republic, and supporting the honour of France; this expedient was, to consent to the choice of the elector of Saxony, who would indemnify his most christian majesty for all the expences he had been at in Poland, and acknowledge that he owed his crown to the ambassador of France.

But this remonstrance made no impression. The castellan of Kalisch, the ambassador's intimate friend, had been with him the night before, and they had agreed upon an answer to be given to the deputies. Abbé Polignac waited upon them to the council, and there animadverted with great eloquence on the many dangers to which both the religion and the liberty of Po-

land must be exposed under a Lutheran and a German king. "Are you no longer" (said he) "apprehensive of a nation which you have so often excluded from the throne? Can Germany hope for more favourable circumstances of revenging upon Poland the many abusive, though just, refusals she has received, or of preventing the like affronts for the future, than by introducing slavery and Lutheranism?" The ambassador, not observing the assembly to be moved, found he must set other engines at work to make the impression he designed. "Well then," continued he in a vehement tone, "since you suffer yourselves to be cast down upon the slightest occasion, and force me to wish you had more resolution, we will finish without you the work you have helped us to begin. I shall not have relied in vain upon a brave nobility; if all their efforts prove ineffectual, prince James shall be the better for your weakness. It is to him we will give the crown. 'Tis he shall ascend the throne, which religion, the interest, liberty, and honour of France, will not suffer to be enjoyed by the elector of Saxony."

This discourse made an impression upon the assembly. The council repeated their promise of serving the prince of Conti, without any dissentients, except the palatine of Vitepsk and the castellan of Czerske, who were gained over by two thousand crowns given to them by the castellan of Culm.

If the ambassador of France had now been furnished with the necessary supplies of money, the prince of Conti had certainly been king. Potoski palatine of Cracow had informed the cardinal that if they would consign over to him 30,000 crowns, whereof one half should be paid down, he would pass over to the side of France with all his party.

The want of money not allowing the ambassador to purchase his supply of voices, he had the vexation to see the elector of Saxony buy them out of his hands. This example carried off Jablonowski, the grand general of the crown, and some other lords, whose desertion nevertheless did not so much weaken the French faction, but that it would have prevailed, had it not been for other accidents which intervened.

The members of this faction were guided by very different motives. A small number served the prince of Conti through an admiration of his great virtues, and the rest from the hatred they bore to the late king's family. Prince James, not finding his party strong enough to support his claim, absolutely renounced all pretensions to the crown. This step took off from the warmth of some palatinates for the prince of Conti, whom they recommended indeed in the first place; but they afterwards did as much for the elector of Saxony.

The term fixed by the diet for the election now drew nigh. The palatinates, consisting of more than 100,000 noblemen, came into the field of election in the plains of Warsaw, on the 25th of June. The palatinates were divided into companies, which amounted to two hundred and fifty. They were all on horseback, except a few gentlemen, whom poverty compelled to walk on foot. Armed with old rusty scythes, they were to appearance a company of reapers, not an assembled nobility: but rank and consequence might be discerned by the fierceness of their countenances, and the right of disposing of the crown seemed written on their foreheads.

As soon as the senators had harangued their palatinates to sound the sentiments of the nobility, the palatinate of Plotzko cried, *Long live*
Conti,

Conti, and immediately raised their sabres. Si-
radia, Reva, and the three palatinates of Prussia
answered, *Long live* Conti: the name of Conti
was carried from rank to rank. Przebendowski,
the soul of the elector's party, not enjoying these
acclamations, and saying to the Prussians, that
Saxony was as good as Conti, narrowly escaped
being shot through the head by the chamberlain
of Marienburg, a priest changing the direction
of the pistol with a stroke of his cane. The
friends of Saxony, in a consternation, protested
against whatever should be done in too hastily an
election, and procured the nomination to be put
off till the next day, pursuant to a law, which
requires that all the candidates be proposed before
the election is finished.

In the mean time the ministers of the several
competitors laboured earnestly to bring about
their designs. The French did all they could to
persuade the nobility, that the elector's conver-
sion was a mere fable. The Saxons, on the
other hand, used their utmost endeavours to esta-
blish its sincerity. They applied to the nuncio
to confirm the certificate, which the bishop of
Raab, a kinsman of the elector's, had given con-
cerning his conversion. But the nuncio kept his
word with the ministers of France, and held out
till the next morning, when circumstances shewed
much more clearly his real purpose.

On the 26th, the cardinal primate, according
to the custom, said mass in the church of St.
John; the bishop of Płotsko made a speech to
the assembly, in which he ingenuously gave them
to understand for what candidate he was inclined;
and they all went thence into the field of elec-
tion. The senators being come into the kolo,
the cardinal primate spoke with great force and
eloquence: "The throne of the republic" (said this
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"this prelate) requires a king that is generous, mild, and affable; a king, who is a soldier, and an officer." He then named the competitors for the crown, and praised every one of them in particular, with reference either to their personal qualifications, or the dignity of their families. He did not mention the elector of Saxony, till he had spoken of all the rest; and then he said, it was but good manners not to forget that prince, whom otherwise his zeal for Lutheranism would exclude from the choice of the nobility. After this discourse, he bent one knee to the ground, and lifting up his eyes and hands to Heaven, "I swear" (said he with a loud voice) "that I will not proclaim any candidate to be king, who has not the unanimous suffrages of the nobility; but I likewise conjure you not to turn your eyes upon any subjects, but such as deserve to be chosen." He was still speaking, when the senators left their places to put themselves at the head of their palatinates. There were left in the kola none but the cardinal and the marshal of the diet, who had information brought them of what was doing from time to time, according to which they issued out their orders.

At last, the palatinates being ranged in order to give their suffrages, three companies of the palatinate of Cracow, which has the right of proclaiming first, at the solicitation of their palatine and castellan, cried out, *Long live James the king's son*. One company of the palatinate of Polesania, whose privilege is to speak next, followed their example, but faintly. The other companies of other palatinates raised their voices to the skies with pronouncing the name of Conti. Wilna returned the acclamations with zeal,

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and was joined by the rest of the palatinates. While the name of Conti resounded in every rank, the word Saxony was heard with surprize to interrupt the unanimity of voices. Two companies of Samogitia, which give their votes after the eight former palatinates, ventured to nominate the elector. The name of a Lutheran prince had nearly drawn upon them the whole body of the nobility; but they maintained with so much assurance, that the elector had two years before abjured his errors at Rome (a fact which they said was attested by the nuncio himself), that they gained over certain Masovite gentlemen, whom Przebendowski, for a little brandy and a crown a-head, had disposed to believe every thing.

During these transactions, a gentleman of the palatinate of Plotzko, desirous to shew his zeal for the late king's family, presumed to nominate prince James. But he was immediately shot through the head with a pistol bullet, and the prince was no more spoken of. This unjust and violent action did not find one single avenger among all that body of nobility, who were eye-witnesses of the fact.

In the mean while the party of the prince of Conti shewed themselves every instant. The friends of the elector, apprehending the triumph of France, dispatched messengers to the emperor's ambassador, pressing him to procure the nuncio's attestation to the bishop of Raab's certificate, and adding, that if that could not be done, all was lost, and Conti would be chosen. The nuncio readily complied with what was desired of him. And Przebendowski ran to the assembly with a certificate in form, and his followers cried out by his orders, that the elector was

was a good Catholic, and it was his holiness's request that he should be crowned.

Great numbers, giving credit to these declarations, now took part with Saxony, and before noon his faction was superior to the parties of Newburg, Lorrain, and Baden. The cardinal primate, not being able to distinguish on which side the majority lay, by reason of the noise and tumult which confounded their voices, ordered, that the nobility who favoured Conti should stand on one side, while the friends of the other candidates should range themselves on the other. Of two hundred and fifty companies there were but thirty-six who declared for the rivals of Conti; and the prince must have been king, if the cardinal had not wanted courage. The prelate gave greater signs of irresolution some few moments after. The bishops of Cujavia, Pomerania, and Livonia, who were in the interest of the elector of Saxony, retired to Warsaw, frightened at the number of the Contistes, and the fierce countenance of the castellan of Kalisch, who, mounted upon a war-horse, encouraged the nobility to take up arms, and cut to pieces the small number of opponents, if they still persisted in their obstinacy. Under these circumstances the primate might have nominated without opposition; but the fear of shedding Polish blood kept him unresolved, and he consented to put off the election till the next day, under a pretence, that it was then too late to conclude it.

The principal adherents to the elector of Saxony, having recovered themselves from the fright into which the party of France had thrown them, met at the emperor's ambassador's; thither also came the ministers of all the other pretenders, except the ambassador of France; and

there all joined against the prince of Conti, agreed to support the most powerful party, or rather to make but one, in favour of the elector of Saxony.

Pursuant to these resolutions, every one furnished what money they had by them. These sums, with the bills of exchange paid upon sight by the Jews, amounted to eighteen hundred thousand livres, which were distributed in the camp that night. The eloquence of the senators, and the engagements of the nobility, could not hold against such prevailing motives. All the companies which had before supported the claims of the different candidates, went over to the party of Saxony. Eleven companies of the French faction embraced the cause of the elector; but this desertion was in part repaired by the acquisition of seven of their companies, who ranged themselves under the standard of Conti.

After many negotiations, the time came at last for concluding the election. The bishops of Cujavia, Posenania, and Livonia, were so terrified the night before, that they durst not attempt any thing, and all seemed to favour the prince of Conti, when the palatine of Wielun, who was even more irresolute than the cardinal, went and posted himself, in sign of neutrality, betwixt Saxony and Conti, at the head of the palatinate of Volhinia, the district of Wilna, and some Lithuanian companies. The primate, surprized at this action, knew not what to think of it, but could not imagine that Sapieha was going to offer himself, after so many Piasis had been excluded. This palatine floated all the morning between certain views of ambition or interest, and the solicitations of his friends and the lords of his family, who intreated him not to occasion any
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fresh trouble by a change so little expected. At last, the same caprice which had divided him from the party of Conti brought him back to it, rather than any of the solicitations to which he seemed to yield.

Sapieha's return having taken away all hope from the Saxons of making any advantage of the irresolution and cowardice of that palatine, they sought still to put off the election. Gorowski, castellan of Gnesna, advanced between the two parties, and made a sign that he had something to communicate to the French faction. The bishop of Kiow, who was deputed to hear him, brought back word, that his party demanded a conference in the midst of the kola, in the presence of the primate and the marshal.

This being consented to, the deputies of Saxony proposed to give up Saxony, Newburg, Lorrain, Bavaria, and the royal family, provided the opposite party would abandon Conti. This was only an artifice to gain time; and therefore they made no difficulty of seeming to accept of their proposition. When the time came for founding them, and making them throw off the mask, they offered the prince of Baden. Jablonowski rejected him, because he was proposed by Lubormiski. The bishop of Plotzko, returning from Warsaw, whither he had been to talk over this matter with Abbé Polignac, to confound Jablonowski the more, declared in favour of the prince of Baden. The palatines were highly displeased at these new proposals, but pains were taken to make them comprehend, that they were offered with no other view, than to expose the opposite party; these excuses, however, were not satisfactory to them, and they called out loudly upon the primate to put an end to the election.

This prelate was upon the point of giving the benediction, when a letter was put into his hands from the bishop of Cujavia. He read it loud enough to be heard by those who stood near him. In this letter the bishop of Cujavia threatened a secession of forty companies in favour of Saxony, in case they nominated the prince of Conti, assuring the cardinal notwithstanding, that he would in no wise have encroached upon the rights of his primacy, if he had not been compelled to it by force.

The nobility, enraged at the inflexibility of a handful of obstinate people, redoubled their importunities to have this great affair brought to a conclusion. And the primate at last, being no longer able to resist their pressing instances, declared on the 27th of June, that the republic made choice of Francis Lewis de Bourbon, prince of Conti, to be king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania.

The opposite party not daring to stir, for fear of being cut to pieces by the greater number, waited till the multitude had dispersed; and then the bishop of Cujavia with forty companies, being under no farther apprehension, nominated Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania. This news was brought to the cardinal as he was returning to his palace after having sung *Te Deum* in the church of St. John at Warsaw. He was advised to use violent methods against the mutineers; but his natural mildness diverted him from it.

The bishop of Cujavia, having sung *Te Deum* upon the place of election, came to Warsaw, where he repeated that ceremony in the church of St. John; and being desirous to observe, in
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shew at least, all the rules that were usual in an action of that consequence, he took great care to make reparation for a fault which he had committed through over-much haste, in nominating the elector out of the electoral camp. He returned thither early the next morning, and repeated the nomination, as if that step could have set all right. And lastly, to give the finishing stroke to what he was about, he administered the path for observing the *Pacta Conventa* to the cavalier Fleming by six o'clock, who took upon himself the character of envoy extraordinary.

The day after the election some conferences passed between the two parties. In these it was proposed to observe the laws of the kingdom, which require that none of the competitors nominated should set foot in the kingdom till after the diet of confirmation; but the friends of Saxony depending upon the proximity of the elector, and secure of the distance of his rival, absolutely refused to comply with those propositions.

During the course of these debates, Abbé Polignac had dispatched a courier into France, to press for the departure of the prince, and such supplies of money as were necessary to keep the lords firm in his party. This courier, who was the ambassador's secretary, to make a merit of the good news he brought, disguised the truth, and represented the party opposite to the prince of Conti, as an insignificant handful of people, adding, that the new king should wait for the embassy of the republic. A second courier, however, who arrived within two days after, set matters in a true light, and the prince prepared for his journey, but did not set out till the cardinal had given him notice of his election under

his hand. The prelate's letter was to have been brought by the preceding courier; but the person who was to have given it him, being to set out within two days after, kept it to carry himself: and to these trivial circumstances, which delayed the prince's departure, might with some probability be attributed the ill-success of Conti.

Meanwhile the profusion of the elector of Saxony daily increased the number of his followers; he was beside upon the frontiers of Poland. The prince of Conti's friends, affrighted to see him so near them, told the French ambassador, that the instrument of election should not be given into his hands, till he had paid off the four quarters of the army; and if those clauses could not be filled, he had nothing to do but to countermand the prince.

A declaration so little expected threw the ambassador into the utmost confusion, and he, determined to inform the court of France of the resolution of the lords. This news again put off the prince's journey. Preparations however were making for his departure, and he embarked at last at Dunkirk, on board the little squadron of chevalier Bart, attended by the chevaliers d'Angouleme, Sillery, Lanzun, and twenty gentlemen. The prince carried with him 100,000 louis d'ors, bills of exchange payable upon sight for the like sum, and a great number of jewels. He anchored before Oliva on the 28th of September, and was saluted with three discharges of cannon from the fort of Weychelmunde. These were all the honours which Dantzick paid the prince. The magistrate of the city had disposed the inhabitants to favour the elector. The majority of the citizens declared for him, and even insulted the officers of the French squadron.

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To revenge the affront, they laid hold upon five merchant ships which lay in the road; and the magistrates, by way of reprisal, seized upon all the effects of the French, and carried their resentments so far as to sell the horses of the ambassador of France to the highest bidder.

During these transactions, the ambassador was using all his endeavours to open a way for the prince of Conti's entrance into Poland. The lords of the house of Sapięha had engaged for the sum of 400,000 livres, to send the prince a guard of twelve companies under the command of the grand treasurer's son; and then the grand general of Lithuania, and all the officers of the army, were to take the oath, and march with their troops to the place which should be appointed. But the prince was previously obliged to pay them four hundred and sixty thousand livres.

The ambassador, having thus taken all necessary measures, went on board the French squadron on the 1d of October. The prince's friends, who came to see him, advised him to go to Marienburg or Lowitz, but he chose rather to wait for the coming up of the Sapięha's. Couriers were continually passing, which brought word, that they were just at hand with some Lithuanian senators, who, in conjunction with the Polish embassy, were to present the crown to the prince of Conti.

The elector of Saxony, before the arrival of his competitor, had received an embassy from his party at Tarnowitz, upon the frontiers of Silesia; and marching from thence to Pickari, he there repeated the abjuration of his errors before Crispin bishop of Samogitia. He there swore to the observance of the *Pacta Conventa*, and there also received

received the compliments of the nobility, whom he assured of his paternal tenderness for his new subjects. Thence, advancing as far as Cracow, he purchased the delivery of the castle of count Wielopolski for five thousand crowns, and a necklace, which he presented to the count's lady.

The cardinal primate, on his part, went on the 26th of August with the nobility of the French party into the electoral camp, and there held the diet of confirmation. They there resolved upon a confederation against the elector of Saxony; and then breaking up the inclosure of the camp, to prevent the meetings of the opposite party in a place of authority, the primate returned to Warsaw, where he caused the confederation to be signed by prince Sapieha, the senators, deputies, and nobility of his party. They had likewise entered into a negotiation with the elector, though without any effect, to put off his coronation, which was performed on the 15th of September. The diet, after this ceremony, had been quietly closed on the 1st of October, the new king had already filled several posts, and his party had taken a resolution to meet at Warsaw within six weeks.

It may perhaps be permitted here to notice a circumstance that may let us into the knowledge of the genius of the Poles, who are sometimes satisfied with revenging by a jest injuries offered to the liberties of the nation. As soon as the elector was crowned, a pasquinade was sent abroad under the title of the *Comedy of Cracow*, in five acts, with the arguments of each act. The first was a king without a diploma; the second a funeral solemnity without a corpse; the third a coronation without a primate; the fourth a diet without

without deputies; and the fifth protestations without effect. The elector was not much displeased with such a revenge as this, and would have rejoiced if the Poles had opposed no other arms against his growing power.

The cardinal took all possible measures to prevent his ascending the throne, which had already cost too dear for him to part with it without some concern. This prelate therefore, having assembled the confederates, recalled the *Universalia* issued out for the general assembly appointed to meet upon the 26th of September, and called together three particular meetings upon the 10th of October in three different places, in order to divide the forces of the enemy, in case they should attempt to disturb the assemblies.

In the mean time the prince of Conti waited for the execution of the promises of Sapięha. The elector, informed that his rival was determined not to land before the arrival of regular troops, took all possible care to prevent his descent. Galecki, palatine of Inowloclaw, marched into Prussia by his orders, at the head of 3000 horse. This precaution succeeded as Augustus desired; for the prince Sapięha, fearing to encounter with this body of horse, let the primate know they had taken a resolution not to set forward, fearing, as they said, to expose their troops to slaughter.

Notwithstanding these disappointments, the prince of Conti prepared to quit his vessels, and to put himself at the head of 1500 horse, which the starost of Sondek had assured him were upon their march. But this resolution was deferred by the arrival of the Saxons, who were divided into two bodies, and marched directly to Oliva and Marienburg. Their arrival kept the prince on board.

board. He had already told the Poles, that he would return to France, if his party did not make haste to perform their promises. At last, tired out with the Polish delays, arising from deliberations, and increased by such perpetual counsels as are spent in preliminaries, he weighed anchor on the 9th of November, and set sail for France. But this resolution was not taken till he was reduced to the last extremity; for he had the vexation to see the abbey of Oliva plundered, and forty of his domestics lost, who were taken prisoners by the Saxons.

Before his departure, he wrote two letters, one to the primate, and the other to the republic. In the former he returned thanks to the prelate for the warmth wherewith he had espoused his cause, and expressed his concern, that his eminence, and so many other worthy men, should suffer upon his account. But though his rival was preferred before him, he comforted himself in this, that being a prince of the blood of France, he did not stand in need of the splendor of a crown. He added, that he gave up Poland to the elector much against his inclination, and forced to it by the failure of their promises who had engaged to send forces to his assistance. But in his letter to the republic he wrote in another tone. He there accused the great men with breach of faith, after earnest solicitations on their part, and charged them with inviting him into Poland on purpose to affront him.

1699. Augustus, finding himself freed from the apprehensions of his rival, began at last to take breath, and turned his thoughts toward the confirmation of his authority by all those ceremonies which impose upon the people. For this reason he made his entry into Warsaw, January 13,

1699.

1699. When this was over, he strove by all possible means to gain the cardinal, who seemed disposed to acknowledge him. The prelate went so far as to promise, that he would promote his interest in the *rokosz*, or assembly of the confederates he had called together. Augustus was happy in having to do with a man, who was governed by circumstances; and he stood in need of the cardinal; for in the diet of pacification which that prince had called together at Warsaw, of the twenty persons who came thither, including both senators and deputies, twelve had protested against him the first day, which had broke up the diet, and given a convincing proof that he had but a small number of followers, and was by no means chosen by the almost unanimous consent of all the Poles, as some libels ventured to assert.

The *rokosz*, which was then held at Lowitz on the 18th of February, was as full as the diet of pacification had been empty. The king's deputies were obliged to ask for other letters and other powers, because the title of commissioners which they bore, and some other terms in them, gave offence to that haughty body of nobility, who look upon themselves, in some measure, as in a condition to impose laws upon the prince who calls himself their king. At last they received the letters of Augustus, and offered to acknowledge his authority upon the conditions that were then drawn up. They contained twenty articles, and absolutely tied up his majesty's hands. His deputies, not caring to subject their master to such hard terms, did all they could to engage the assembly to make some abatements in the rigour of the conditions. But all they could obtain was to lessen their number; and thus they were obliged to expect from time, what they could

could not obtain from the inflexibility of the rokosz.

The pope, desirous upon some account or other, to intermeddle with the affair of Poland, had on the 26th of February dispatched a nuncio extraordinary, who presented a letter to the cardinal from his holiness. The pontiff offered by his minister, to be the mediator between the king and the republic. The primate made answer, that though he was subject to the pope in matters spiritual, he besought him not to concern himself in points relating to the republic; for he should think he deserved the reproaches of the nobility, and should become a traitor to his country, if ever he gave up its interest.

Augustus was very desirous to put an end to the divisions which kept him still in suspense. With these views he called a diet of pacification to meet on the 16th of April. His circular letters, which were sent abroad upon this occasion, were full of mighty schemes and fine promises; but the Poles were as yet too wary to be caught by such baits, which usually catch those only who are disposed to be so caught. The diet assembled at the time appointed; but of the two hundred, who ought to have been present, there came thither only thirty deputies of certain palatinates in Poland and Lithuania. It was no sooner opened, than the greater part of them rose up, and demanded the convocation of a general assembly in the open field, and threatened to retire in case of refusal. They soon after did as they said, and there was no possibility of getting them together again.

In the mean while Augustus exercised as many kingly acts as he had opportunity of doing; as particularly appeared in the case of Oginski grand
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ensign of Lithuania, and Sapieha the grand general of that duchy, whom he forbade to decide their quarrel by force of arms, and advised rather to make up their differences in an amicable manner.

This prince, who had already given a public audience to the pope's nuncio extraordinary, engaged him to intercede with the cardinal, and dispose him to peace. The cardinal, who was an enemy to troubles through his natural timidity, promised to do all that lay in his power to pacify them. In short, he called together a new assembly of the confederates at Lowitz, who met on the 5th of May, the day appointed by the *Universalia* which were published on this occasion; and the primate ~~to~~ artfully introduced into the assembly the favourable sentiments he had for Augustus, that at length a treaty was concluded with him, by which he engaged to give authentic proofs of his Catholicism; to dispatch the Lutheran ministers, and to restore by a solemn act the liberty of votes in all future elections. He farther promised, never to demand back from the republic the sums he had bestowed upon his party; to pay what was due to the army, and to recover the conquered places which had been taken from Poland. This treaty likewise obliged him to send back his Saxons, and to repair the damages they had done. It farther contained some other articles for the advantage of Poland. One single deputy of the palatinate of Sendomir indeed withdrew from the assembly; but no regard was paid to his protestations, as the assembly was not a diet, but a free *rokosz*, which could not be broken up by the retreat of any dissentients. The cardinal would not have been so easy, but
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the court of France advised him to come to an accommodation with Augustus, and beside he had no alternative left.

SECT. XII.

AUGUSTUS II.

It was on the 16th of May that this important affair was concluded, which supplied whatever had been wanting in the election of Augustus, who can be looked upon only from that time as the lawful king; the nomination of the bishop of Cujavia, and all the steps which followed, being manifestly contrary to the laws of the kingdom.

It might reasonably have been expected, that after this treaty the king should have been secure against the restlessness of the nobility who had signed it, and that as soon as he had recovered Kamienieck and Podolia, he should have sent back his Saxons into their own country; but through a perpetual distrust of a people whom he found to comply only with the time, he sought for pretences to retain his army in Poland, notwithstanding the animosity of the Poles against the Saxons.

A long and ruinous war with Sweden now approached, of which the origin was briefly this:

The Muscovites and Poles were by no means satisfied at seeing Livonia subject to the Swedish yoke. This province, which had formerly belonged to the knights of the Teutonic order, had been the cause of a long war between three nations. The peace of Oliva had at last decided

the quarrel in favour of Sweden, which had long been in possession of that fertile country. A young king had just at this time ascended the throne of Sweden; and the first impressions which foreign ministers had taken of that monarch, had produced a sovereign contempt for him in the courts of Europe. These circumstances induced the czar Peter the Great of Muscovy, and the king of Poland, to violate the treaty of Oliva.

These two monarchs then held an interview at Riga on the 10th of August, and concluded an alliance, which had for its object to wrest from the young Charles XII. all the territories that lie between the gulph of Finland, the Baltic Sea, Poland, and Muscovy.

Augustus indeed stood in need of this pretence to keep a Saxon army in Poland. The treaty which had been then lately concluded at Carlowitz would have obliged him to send back his troops. By that also the grand signior consented to the restitution of Kaminiéc, Podolia, and all the other places which had been taken from the Poles.

1700. Before the execution of this treaty a general diet was held at Warsaw January 16th, at which the king attended regularly in person: and he had the satisfaction of seeing what he had long waited for, the act of his election signed by the cardinal primate and the grand chancellor Bielinski.

Having then disposed of several considerable posts, he made a visit, March 24th, to his hereditary Saxon dominions, where he settled the affairs which required his presence, and returned to Warsaw. The day after his return he assembled the senators, who were then in the town, and laid before them the advantage which would re-

sult from the conquest of Riga, the capital city of Livonia, and the necessity of assisting in that enterprize.

While Augustus was amusing the Poles with specious pretences, Charles XII. forced the king of Denmark, who had privately conspired his ruin with the Pole and Muscovite, to do justice to his brother-in-law the duke of Holstein. The young king then learned that the king of Poland, despairing to conquer the indefatigable experience of count d'Alberg the governor of Riga, an officer who had all the fire and activity of youth at the age of fourscore, had raised the siege of that place. Augustus, it is true, eagerly laid hold of an opportunity which presented itself of withdrawing with honour from the step wherein he had prematurely engaged. The states general desiring him, by their ambassadors, to spare a place wherein the Dutch had considerable effects, he made a merit of desisting from an enterprize which he had by this time great cause to fear would miscarry.

Peter Alexiowitz czar of Muscovy now ravaged Ingria with an army of 100,000 men, and on the 1st of October laid siege to Narva, in the midst of the ice and snow which at that time cover those climates.

Upon the news of this siege, Charles XII. whose insuperable courage and resolution, the source of all his misfortunes, were increased by his late success, crossed the sea with two hundred transports, marched directly to Narva at the head of 4,000 horse and a like number of foot, routed an advanced guard of 5,000 Muscovites posted in his way, and put all to flight before him. A body of 20,000 men durst not wait his coming up, and 30,000 Muscovites, placed within a league of the camp, were carried away with the torrent of the flying

flying foldiers, and retired to the intrenchments. Charles XII. appeared within view of the camp, made a breach in the intrenchments, entered with his 8,000 Swedes, and took almost all the Muscovites of the right wing prisoners; the rest ran to bury themselves under the ruins of the bridge of the river of Narva, which broke down with them. The generals of the enemy laid their arms at the conqueror's feet, who kept them alone prisoners, while the foldiers were dismissed to terrify their fellow-countrymen with an account of the battle. The enemy's left wing, which was still subsisting, came and surrendered the next morning to the number of 30,000 men, and these Charles likewise permitted to return into Muscovy.

1701. This great victory disturbed the measures of the czar and of Augustus. The latter soon expected to see the king of Sweden in Poland repay, with fire and sword, the ravages of Livonia and Ingria. It was therefore necessary to raise up banks to oppose the torrent; and this was the occasion of an interview of the two allies at Birzen, a small town in Lithuania. Augustus here promised the czar 50,000 German troops, which he undertook to hire of the princes of the empire, and the czar was to pay them. The czar, on his side, agreed to send a like number of Muscovites into Poland, to be trained up there in military discipline; and farther engaged, in two years time, to supply Augustus with nine millions of livres.

This treaty, which was concluded without the consent of the republic, was by no means approved of by the Polish nobility. The general diet, which was opened at Warsaw on the 30th of May, desired Augustus to send back the Saxon troops, and make peace with Sweden; to remove the Germans from the council board, and appease the

troubles of Lithuania. The king's answer could not calm the uneasiness of the nobility, who were jealous of their liberty; and the diet divided into several little provincial assemblies, where none but Poles were present, with a view of providing a more secure remedy for the ills of which they were too justly apprehensive. All the deputies joined in demanding the convocation of a new general diet at such time as the king pleased, who fixed it for the 22d of December.

Charles XII. informed of the designs of the czar and the king of Poland, hastened into Livonia, that he might be beforehand with his enemies. He arrived near Riga, upon the banks of the Duna, over against the Saxon army, which lay encamped on the other side of the river. His troops crossed it on boats of the king's invention, whose sides were moveable, and might be lifted up, or let down, like draw-bridges, and so be of use to cover the troops in their passage, and favour their descent when they came to land. A thick smoke from a large heap of wet straw, which the king caused to be set on fire, so blinded the enemy, that they could not discern the passage of his troops.

The Saxon army was commanded by the duke of Courland and marshal Stenau. That brave officer fell upon the Swedish battalions with his horse before they were quite drawn up, and drove them into the river; but being soon rallied by the king, they advanced with such fury against the marshal, that they obliged him in his turn to retreat. The Saxon army retired to an advantageous ground, where it was attacked and beaten by the enemy. After an obstinate and bloody combat on both sides, the conquerors took Mitau, the capital city of Courland; and the rest of
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the towns in that duchy opened their gates without any resistance. The king did no more to gain all Lithuania ; and it was at Birzen in that duchy, where the fatal alliance had been concluded between the czar and the king of Poland, that the implacable Charles laid a scheme for dethroning Augustus.

Augustus's misfortune roused up his secret enemies : they sought to take advantage of his circumstances, to prejudice him with his subjects. The king, who stood more in need of an army than councils and deliberations, was notwithstanding forced to hold the diet which was appointed to meet on the 22d of December. In this assembly that spirit of liberty, which generally prevails in Poland, broke out before the king in a language never heard by other princes. He saw his subjects openly working against him under a pretence of the public good, and was obliged to bear with the pride and haughtiness of that free people, who make choice of a master, less with a view of being governed, than of governing themselves, and of increasing their own authority ; borrowing his name to execute their own private quarrels ; and making themselves considerable in the state, by taking part with him or against him.

1702. The conduct of Augustus, indeed, had not a little contributed to take off from the affection of his friends, and to exasperate his enemies, who were greatly increased in number. Some palatinates, however, still expressed zeal enough for him to make him believe that he might arm the Polish nobility against the Swedes, and thus he founded his hopes upon the army of the republic ; but these hopes were soon dissipated, and he grew perfectly sensible that his authority in the

diet was of little consequence, the most considerable part of the members making no scruple to own that they were in the interest of the king of Sweden, and that not so much out of friendship to him, as hatred to Augustus, whom they suspected of some design upon their liberties. They even went so far as to charge him with the troubles of Lithuania, and accuse him as the author of all the ills which had fallen upon the state. Among other debates, they talked of sending an embassy to the king of Sweden in the name of the republic; but before this point was carried, the diet was broken up by the retreat of a deputy. This event occurred February 7th, 1702.*

In the mean time Augustus had pressing need of succours. He was not ignorant that the diets, councils, and in short all the assemblies of the Poles, fought to degrade his authority, or rather to annihilate it: but, upon some occasions, it is policy in a prince to connive at an incroachment upon his rights, that he may one day have it in his power to restore them. With these views Augustus called together a council of the senate. The members of this assembly were better courtiers than that vast tribe of nobility which had so openly declared their animosity against the king, and, under the pretence of reconciling his interest with the security of the republic, gave a more certain wound to his authority. They at last concluded upon the embassy debated in the diet, and resolved to arm the nobility, that they might be ready upon occasion.

When Augustus was assured of the senate's resolution, he determined to be beforehand with the embassy of the republic. He had too much

* See the nature of the proceedings in a general diet in Sect. XXV. of the introductory part of this volume, p. 65, 66.

cause to fear that his interest would be slightly regarded, if not wholly overlooked, or, too probably, be mentioned only to be entirely ruined. A captive himself to the wit and beauty of the countess of Koningsmarc, a Swedish young lady of great family, he made choice of her to be his mediator with Charles XII. and thought that a young conqueror could deny her nothing. Having received her instructions from Augustus, she went to the Swedish camp in Lithuania; but Charles XII. refusing obstinately to see her, she returned to Augustus, who however was not disheartened by this rigid inflexibility of his enemy. He dispatched his chamberlain Wiczdum with fresh instructions to the king of Sweden; but when he came within view of the camp, he was seized, as coming from an enemy; and having no other passport, this second attempt proved fruitless.

The king of Poland was therefore obliged now to have recourse to the senate, though his professed enemy; but he soon experienced that he had nothing consolatory to expect from them: for having offered to call in 12,000 Saxons, and to put himself at the head of the army of the republic, upon the conditions of paying two quarters beforehand out of his own private purse, all the answer he received was, that the republic would send an embassy to the king of Sweden to procure peace; and as for the Saxons, his majesty could not introduce them into Poland without entirely disobliging the whole nation.

The embassy of the republic however was not more favourably treated by Charles XII. who was by no means pleased that they had still any connection with Augustus. He answered, that he would let the senate know when he came to Warsaw what he thought of their proposals; and the same day set forward on his march toward

that city, preceded by a manifesto, in which he declared himself the friend and protector of the republic.

Upon the approach of the king of Sweden, the friends of Augustus deserted him through weakness; his enemies, that they might withdraw from his reproaches, and raise him up more adversaries at a distance; and all, through a jealousy of the royal authority, which the Poles look upon as a monster ever ready to devour their liberty.

Before he left Warsaw, Augustus obtained leave from the few senators who were left about him, to introduce 6,000 Saxons, and dispose of the troops of the republic. He likewise gave orders for the nobility to take the field, but to no purpose. The hatred they bore him, and the terror of the Swedish arms, kept the Poles upon their estates, where they waited for the issue of this great affair. Thus deserted by his subjects, he had recourse to other measures. Twenty thousand Saxons entered Poland by his order; and he gave himself little concern about exasperating a nation which betrayed him, offending enemies who sought his ruin, or raising the murmurs of some weak and fearful friends, who gave him no other proof of their affection than that they were not his enemies.

The king of Sweden, on his side, prepared to give his enemy a good reception. He let the cardinal primate into his intentions at Warsaw, who was the secret enemy of Augustus, and forced to submit to him against his inclination, but still more a friend to the liberty of his country, which he thought in danger under the administration of a prince who, contrary to his engagements, had over-run Poland with foreign troops. This prelate was come to Warsaw, with the leave of Augustus himself, who indeed could not deny it him.

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He went thither, it is true, under a pretence of disposing the king of Sweden to an accommodation; but, in reality, perhaps, to strike the last blow, and deprive a prince of the crown, who had transgressed the laws of the nation. Being admitted to an audience of the king of Sweden, he had a quarter of an hour's private conference with his majesty, who said aloud, that he would give no peace to Poland, till they had made choice of another king. Whether the cardinal was struck with this declaration, upon seeing matters so nigh, or that he had a mind to conceal the joy which might arise from a resolution that secured the liberty of his country, certain it is, that he seemed to be very much troubled at it. He gave notice of it however to the palatinates, by which means he discovered, in some measure, his real sentiments.

Augustus found it was now no longer time to deliberate, and that his crown depended upon the fate of a battle. The two armies met near Cliflow, between Warsaw and Cracow. The victory was obtained by Charles, who, pursuing his enemy as far as Cracow, entered the city, and the castle surrendered at discretion.

An accident, which at this time happened to the king of Sweden, had nearly changed the face of affairs. By a fall of his horse he broke his thigh as he was marching out of Cracow, which obliged him to keep his bed six weeks. It was spread over all Europe, that he was trampled to death under his horse's feet. This false report gave life to the followers of Augustus, confirmed his doubtful friends, shocked his private adversaries, and threw his open enemies into despair.

But that rumour was soon dispersed. Augustus, flying before the conqueror, got together some palatinates

palatines at Sendomir, who were zealous in his service. They were resolved upon sending an embassy to the king of Sweden, to offer him the mediation of the republic betwixt himself and the king of Poland. Augustus then came to Warsaw, with a train of negotiations constantly at his heels. Another assembly, called together in that city, confirmed the embassy resolved upon at Sendomir. Mortzin, the chief ambassador, wrote to the king of Sweden, to know at what time his majesty would be pleased to give them audience. The king made answer, that he was surprized the republic should offer him their mediation in an affair wherein themselves were become a party, as the army of Poland had engaged with him at Cliflow, and the Poles still daily exercised hostilities upon the Swedes ; but if, notwithstanding, the republic disowned these actions, and were willing to clear themselves of the suspicions they had raised, their first step should be, to remove the actors, and punish them in an exemplary manner, as a proof of the sincere affection they professed to bear towards Sweden ; after this justification, he added, he should be ready to talk with them.

While the king of Sweden assumed the language of a conqueror, Augustus returning from his hereditary dominions, whither he had taken a journey, came to Thorn, and presided in the great council he had called together in that city. The assembly accepted of the emperor's mediation in behalf of the republic, and resolved to declare war upon the king of Sweden in case he refused the mediators which they offered him.

1703. The cardinal primate, who had already dethroned Augustus in his own mind, willing to oppose councils to councils, called an assembly at
Warsaw,

Warsaw, February 15th; but the small number of senators who came thither, and the presence of the Swedes who had got possession of the castle, obliged him to put it off to another time. Augustus was then at Marienbourg with some of his party, whom he laid under the obligation of new oaths.

In the mean time the king of Sweden gave audience to the deputies of the council, and then conferring with the cardinal, he let him know his intentions by a declaration to this purpose; that the king of Poland offered peace, or made war, as he was more or less pressed by the Swedish arms: that the king of Sweden, desiring that a free assembly might be called of all the members of the republic, to restore tranquillity in Poland, king Augustus, seconded by his followers at Marienbourg, had treated that assembly, called together at Warsaw by the primate, as an unlawful meeting, whereas it was his council at Marienbourg which more justly deserved the name of a conventicle: that they had there made such open and repeated menaces of war and rupture between the republic and Sweden, that he was satisfied the assembly was not guided by a spirit of peace and reconciliation, but rather influenced by the author of the troubles, whose sentiments and designs they solely expressed: that this conduct had too much opened the eyes of the king of Sweden, to suffer himself to be any longer amused by the delays of negotiations: that, however, his majesty did not refuse to make a proper peace with the republic, for which he had given signal proofs of his affection by refusing the advantages of private treaties offered to his majesty, but injurious to the liberties of Poland: that they would do well not to refuse the offers of assistance and confirmation

confirmation of the alliance made by his majesty to the republic, of which, if they did, they might have cause to repent : that lastly, he had pointed out the surest means of procuring peace, and was ready to hearken to the propositions which should be made to him on that subject, in an assembly wherein the primate of the kingdom should preside, whom his prudence and love for justice ought to render agreeable to both parties.

Charles XII. who did not love long treaties, and grew tired of inactivity, left Prague to fall upon the Saxons at Pultusch. As he was upon his march, he received the primate's answer to the foregoing declaration. The king, who desired a positive answer, was displeased with the obscurity of the primate's letter. The only point in it that was plainly expressed was, a protestation never to dethrone Augustus.

In the mean time Charles passed the rivers, marched against the Saxons at Pultusch, and drove them before him. His presence was sufficient to procure a victory. After this late success, he advanced under the walls of Thorn, which was blockaded by eight thousand Swedes on the 16th of May. The place was fortified with a garrison of six thousand Saxons; but large as the garrison was, it was far inferior to the 8000 Swedes who besieged it.

Augustus, yielding on all sides to the victorious arms of his enemy, at last called his friends together to repair his losses. He opened a diet at Lublin June 19th, whither the cardinal had the assurance to come. The prelate seemed to promise fair, paid his duty to the king, took the oaths with the rest, never to consent to the dethroning of Augustus, and to do all he could for the preservation of his crown. By this means he prevented the violent
resolutions

resolutions which were then talked of, of abolishing his dignity, and declaring him a traitor to his country, and unfaithful to his prince. The assembly gave Augustus leave to raise taxes for the support of the war, and to make what alliances he judged proper with foreign powers. He repeated the oaths he had before taken at Sandomir, to assure the Poles that he had no design upon the liberty of their country.

The assembly which was held afterwards, and is called Post-comital, as it constantly follows the diets or comitia, empowered the cardinal and the commissioners of the republic to let the king of Sweden know, that the resolutions taken at Lublin did in no wise derogate from the power already given the commissioners to conclude a peace; that, on the other hand, they had augmented those powers to treat with his Swedish majesty, from whose equity they had cause to expect such conditions as should be agreeable to reason. Pursuant to these resolutions, the cardinal came to Warsaw, and informing the commissioners of what was done, he wrote to the king of Sweden upon this subject, who made answer, that he should do nothing to hinder a reasonable peace.

His majesty meant nothing by these general terms, but a peace that was agreeable to his own intentions. To bring the Poles somewhat nearer to his designs, he changed the blockade of Thorn to a siege in form; and the garrison, obliged to surrender at discretion, found more favourable conditions from the king's generosity, than they could have hoped for from a treaty.

1704. Augustus seeing that his forces daily came to nothing, sent an embassy to the czar of Muscovy, to conclude a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, notwithstanding it was opposed by some

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of the senators. These proceedings against the inclinations of the Poles still farther alienated their affections from him, and favoured the assembly of the confederates which the primate held at Warsaw. The prelate talked of nothing but quieting the troubles of the kingdom; and even went so far as to give the king notice, that it had been proposed to dethrone him. But, thinking he had done enough to give a colour to his actions, he soon after entered into all the views of the confederation.

As soon as the cardinal had thrown off the mask, the interregnum was resolved on by the confederates. Some of them, struck with the consequences of such a resolution, and affected by the menaces of the czar and king Augustus, declared they came not to the assembly to dethrone the king, but only to heal the maladies of the republic. Their zeal sunk or rose in proportion to the circumstances that intervened. Augustus, then at Cracow with his followers, declared the nobility assembled at Warsaw to be rebels and traitors. This news exasperated them still more, and some of the deputies broke out into furious invectives against the king: "Which of our privileges (said they), however sacred, has not Augustus violated? The people are impoverished, the principal families of the state oppressed, all Poland enslaved by Saxon garrisons, the fire of war kindled to consume the little remains of our expiring liberty: and are not these substantial proofs that Augustus tramples his oaths, and our most sacred laws, under his feet?"

These bold and free discourses cemented the resolutions of the assembly, and encouraged such of the deputies as had suffered their resolution to cool. A new incident revived their first warmth, and

and dispelled all their doubts about dethroning Augustus. They learned by a letter from prince Alexander Sobieski, that his two brothers James and Constantine were carried off near Breslaw in Silesia by the orders of the king of Poland. This violence loosened the tongues of the whole assembly, and they made no hesitation to resolve upon the interregnum.

Augustus was no sooner informed of what had passed in the assembly at Warsaw, than he gave notice of it to the diet of Ratisbon, and likewise to the pope, who used his utmost endeavours to prevent so strange a revolution. The pontiff wrote to the primate in pressing terms, not to give so great a scandal to Europe; but the blow was already struck. The cardinal, in his answer to the pope, described the injury offered to the two princes in the most lively colours; he repeated the several attempts of king Augustus upon the liberty of Poland; the Saxons introduced into the heart of the kingdom; a war entered into to drain the republic and ruin great families; the defeats of Augustus; the ravage of Poland; the absolute contempt of executing the *Pacta Conventa*, a sacred contract broken and trampled under foot by Augustus. He added in his letter, that the cries and groans of their oppressed country had at last entered the hearts of the good Poles, who had no other way left of relieving their common mother, than by rescuing her from the hands of the oppressor. Lastly, he justified his association with Sweden, and concluded with calling in doubt the sincerity of Augustus's conversion.

This letter, keen as it was, made no alteration in the pope's resolution; he wrote back to the cardinal, advising him to temper, and not to make the evil worse by dethroning the king. The

pope's solicitations had no effect upon the cardinal, and the *interregnum*, already resolved upon, was published in the beginning of May. The heat of their passions had hindered several palatines from seeing the consequences of such dangerous proceedings; but when they came to consider of them more coolly, they were shocked at what they had done, and went off from the rest of the confederates. They said they came to Warsaw with no other view than to labour for peace, and not to prolong the troubles by such violent methods as could only end in the absolute ruin of the commonwealth.

No regard was paid to their separation; on the other hand, it was resolved to finish what was already begun. General Horne, the king of Sweden's minister in this affair, came to the assembly with the palatine of Posenania, and the marshal of the confederation, who had been to make him a visit. The bishop of Posenania, and the palatines of Posenania and Siradia were appointed the commissioners of the republic to treat with this general.

Augustus, enraged at the conduct of the confederates, broke into a severe invective against them in the general diet which he had called to meet at Sandomir. But neither his menaces nor his complaints were capable of putting a stop to the proceedings of the confederates, who soon opened a diet at Warsaw for the election of a new king. The candidates named were, Prince Alexander Sobieski, the prince of Conti, and some others; but the eyes of all were fixed upon the former two. Prince Alexander was favoured by the king of Sweden, whose protection was of great weight with most part of the electors, who were no other than the instruments of his will.

The prince of Conti was supported by the cardinal, who was almost the only one of his party. Alexander, however, when pressed by Charles XII. to accept the crown, protested that he would never ascend the throne which fortune had denied to his elder brother. This moderation of young Sobieski, and the few friends of the prince of Conti, caused all mention of them to be dropped in the diet. The other candidates divided the voices in the assembly, who finding they were not likely to agree about them, refused them all.

A new candidate, who had almost every voice on his side, contributed not a little to make them entirely forgotten. This was Stanislaus Leczinski, palatine of Posnania, a young lord, brave, liberal, and indefatigable, and of a disposition likely to put an end to all their divisions. The king of Sweden, who at first warmly declared in behalf of prince Alexander, not finding him disposed to comply with his intentions, afterwards left the liberty of choosing to the nobility; but when he heard they had owned the merit of Stanislaus, he desired that he might be proclaimed king without any regard to the usual formalities, which took up more time than was consistent with his vivacity. Stanislaus was then declared king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania July the 12th, at nine in the evening, by the bishop of Posnania.

Augustus having heard at Kamin of the election of the palatine of Posnania, assembled in that city the great council he had called together at Sandomir. Stanislaus was there declared a rebel and traitor to his country, and the great zeal of Augustus's party might have kept him in heart, if his arms had been less unsuccessful; but while

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he was engaging with his rival by vain declarations, the Swedes were routing the Saxon troops, upon which he still founded some small degree of hope.

Count Leewenhaupt, a Swedish general, with an army of 7000 men, fell upon 12,000 Saxons, commanded by prince Wiefnowiski, upon the banks of the Duna, cut off 3000 of them, put the rest to flight, and seized upon their baggage and artillery. This loss was followed by another, which was less considerable indeed as to the number of the slain, but of much greater consequence as to the officers involved in it. The Saxons thinking to surprise 3000 Swedish dragoons, who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Posen, marched to attack them by night; but the Swedes received them so briskly, that they drove them back, and entirely defeated them.

The king of Sweden allowed Augustus no longer intermission, than the Swedish generals did the generals of the Saxons. He advanced towards Solock, where that prince lay encamped; but Augustus, deceiving his enemy by an extraordinary march, appeared before Warsaw, which he forced to open her gates to him; the castle, into which general Horne retired, was obliged to surrender, and the garrison were made prisoners of war, after having obtained some conditions which alleviated their fate. Charles XII. not having time enough to hinder the entrance of Augustus, was unwilling to lose the benefit of his march, and therefore laid siege to Leopold, which he carried the next day by assault, though the garrison made a stout resistance.

After this last success, the Swedish army, which was joined before Leopold by king Stanislaus and his followers, decamped to fall upon the troops
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of Augustus, which lay within a few leagues of Warsaw upon the Vistula. Augustus, fearing his ill fortune, divided his army, which consisted of 45,000 men, into three bodies, that the king of Sweden might not crush him to pieces by a single blow.

1705. While he was endeavouring to save his forces, his rival's party was increasing daily. The palatine of Kiow, who had formed a party under the name of the Indifferents, soon went over to Stanislaus. The cardinal himself, who had not as yet absolutely declared himself, embraced his cause; and to give him a proof of the sincerity of his intentions, he called a general diet to meet at Warsaw, July 11th, to confirm his election, and fix the day of his coronation. The assembly joined with the primate, and Stanislaus was crowned in the church of St. John, having sworn to the observation of the *Pacta Conventa* the day before. Charles XII. was present at the ceremony *incognito*, and had the pleasure of seeing a king confirmed, who owed his crown to him.

SECT. XIII.

STANISLAUS LECZINSKI.

THE cardinal did not long serve the new king, dying at Dantzick on the 13th of October. This gentleman, whose character has been so differently drawn by different parties, was the son of Jerome Radziewski starost of Lomza, and afterwards vice-chancellor of the kingdom. The young Radziewski was left an orphan at nine years old, and queen Louisa, affected with his misfortune, gave him an education suitable to his birth.

birth. When grown up, he followed the fortunes of Sobieski, who in 1679 nominated him to the bishopric of Warmerlandt, and made him vice-chancellor of the kingdom. Pope Innocent XI. honoured him with the Roman purple in 1683; and the king soon after gave him the primacy of Poland.

He is represented on one side as a crafty villain, and on the other as a man of ability and penetration; but, in reality, he was only timorous and wavering. We may venture to aver, that his conduct at Lublin was wholly owing to this disposition; thither he went to swear that he would preserve the crown to Augustus, and immediately returned to Warsaw to abjure the oath he had taken; in the first place, struck with the apprehension of seeing a blow given to his dignity, and then returning to his fears, and fancying that Augustus had still some evil design against the liberty of his country. Beside, he was, like all the Poles, an enemy to a king whom he did not make, and unfaithful to the head of a republic which was ever jealous of the conduct of its sovereign.

1706. The treaty, already begun between Stanislaus and the king of Sweden, was at last signed and ratified by the two monarchs. The principal aim of this treaty was to support Stanislaus upon the throne, and the two estates in a firm and durable alliance. But Charles XII. served Stanislaus better by deeds than by promises. His valiant Swedes, diffused throughout all Poland, cleared it of its enemies. A hundred thousand Muscovites, which made up several bodies of troops, were this year either slain or routed in the kingdom. But the most fatal blow to Augustus's party was the defeat of his troops at Frau-

Frauenstadt. Reinschildt, at the head of 10,000 brave foldiers, fell upon the enemies army, which amounted to 20,000 men. The two wings of the enemy gave way to the impetuosity of the Swedes upon the first onset, and what followed was rather a slaughter than an engagement. The conquerors broke the foot with their usual fury notwithstanding all their efforts, and the field of battle was soon covered with the slain. Seven thousand of the enemy were left upon the place, and 8000 taken prisoners; yet so complete a victory did not cost the Swedes above 300 of their men, among whom were some officers of distinction. This brave action did not last more than three hours. Beside the advantage of numbers, the Saxons were commanded that day by the famous general Schulembourg, who but a short time before had gained the commendations of Charles and Stanislaus for a skilful retreat.

As soon as this bad news had reached the ear of Augustus, he had recourse to his usual remedies. A great council was called at Warsaw, where his majesty then was. He soon after marched thence to Cracow, which he strengthened with new fortifications, designing to make it the repository of his artillery. It was from this city that he observed the motions of the Swedes, and saw the Lithuanians, to his great vexation, pass over to the standards of his rival. But nothing affected him more than the destruction of the Muscovites his allies, who perished most of them by hunger or cold. They were reduced to so great distress, that they were forced to quit Grodno, to the number of 15,000 foot, and near 5000 horse, which the king of Sweden harassed so briskly in their retreat, that very few of them were left.

But Augustus had still some hopes left of repairing his misfortunes by assistance from Saxony; and Charles XII. understood, that he must take from him all his hopes from thence, before he could reduce him to quit the field to Stanislaus. He had no sooner formed this resolution, but he entered Saxony. This singular conqueror would not suffer the arrival of an enemy's army to be attended with any disturbance in the state. The severe discipline of his soldiers guarded the country from all insult; but the Saxons could hardly be brought to believe it, and fled from town to town upon the approach of the Swedes.

To remove all their fears, Charles published a declaration, which was a kind of general safeguard, forbidding all persons whatsoever to quit their goods or convey them away, under severe penalties; and then marching farther into the electorate, he gave orders for the security of the tradesmen at the fair of Leipzig, which was kept as usual. In the mean time he did not lose view of his design to withdraw from Augustus all the succour he could hope for from Saxony, which he did by imposing immense contributions upon the towns.

Augustus, seeing at last his affairs in the condition he had long dreaded, grew sensible of his weakness in Poland, and the necessity of removing Charles XII. from his hereditary dominions. He found he must yield to the present conjuncture, and submit to the conqueror. He determined therefore to offer some proposals to his enemy, and dispatched barons d'Imhoff and Finsten to the king of Sweden. These two ministers came to the Swedish camp at Alt-Ranstadt, but privately, for fear the Muscovites should know that their master was inclined to treat with
Charles

Charles XII. He gave them full powers and a blank signed. Charles receiving the letter they brought him from Augustus, opened and read it. He bade them wait one moment, and he would give them an answer; then going into his closet, he soon returned with a paper which he had written, and which he gave baron d'Imhoff to read. The contents of it were as follow :

“ I CONSENT to give peace upon the following conditions, in which it must not be expected that I shall make the least alteration.

“ I. That king Augustus renounce for ever the crown of Poland; that he acknowledge Stanislaus as lawful king, and that he promise never to remount the throne, even after the death of Stanislaus.

“ II. That he renounce all other treaties, and particularly those he has made with Muscovy.

“ III. That he send back with honour the princes Sobieski into my camp, and all the prisoners he has taken.

“ IV. That he deliver into my hands all the deserters which have entered into his service, particularly John Patkul, and that all proceedings be stopped against such as have passed from his service into mine.”

The plenipotentiaries of Augustus could never obtain from Charles the least abatement of the rigour of these conditions, and were therefore forced to comply with his imperious inflexibility.

Charles exercised then in Saxony an absolute power; he desired to know the strength of the electorate, and the state of the finances, and immediately his orders were obeyed. The registers were laid before him, and by that means he

knew how much he could demand of the estates, from which he directly exacted 625,000 crowns a month, which he afterwards reduced to 500,000.

While he was thus draining Saxony, prince Menzikoff, the czar's generalissimo, at the head of 30,000 men joined Augustus with his little army of about 6000 Poles and Saxons. The arrival of the Muscovites threw his Polish majesty into a strange confusion. He was under the most dreadful apprehensions from them in case his negotiation with Sweden should be discovered; but what threw him into a much greater perplexity was, the presence, at this time, of 10,000 Swedes commanded by general Meyerfeldt. He would have been glad to decline an engagement, for fear he should irritate the conqueror, who was already too much incensed. He is said to have given notice to the Swedish general, that there was a negotiation on foot between him and Charles XII. but this circumstance only added to the ardour of the Swedes. Compelled at last to yield to the instances of prince Menzikoff, and provoked by the confidence of Meyerfeldt, he consented to a battle, which, whether lost or won, would prove alike fatal to him. It seemed as if fortune, till then obstinately bent to pursue him, declared at last in his favour, only to advance his ruin by a kindness shewn too late. The Swedes were conquered at Calish; but the victory of Augustus served only to make the yoke more heavy which Charles XII. laid upon him.

Augustus was entering Warsaw in triumph, when Finster, one of his plenipotentiaries, presented him with the treaty of peace which deprived him of the crown. In the first emotions of his heart, upon the sight of the fatal instrument
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of his shame, he doubted whether he should not march at the head of his victorious troops to fall upon the king of Sweden in Saxony ; but fearing to be overwhelmed in an abyss, in which he was already sunk too deep, he at last consented to sign his abdication, and went into Saxony, hoping to disarm his inflexible enemy by his presence.

The two kings met at Gunterdsdorf in count Piper's quarters, were several times together, and Charles shewed great external respect to Augustus ; yet these vain appearances brought but little consolation for the severity of Charles, who made him pay dear for the victory at Calish, which he gained over general Meyerfeldt. This severity Charles carried so far, as to oblige him to send the jewels and archives of the crown to his successor Stanislaus. But what completed the degradation of Augustus was, his being obliged to congratulate on his accession to the throne the man who was going to usurp his place, and that in the following terms dictated by the Swedish monarch :

“ Sir and Brother,

“ We little imagined it would have been necessary to enter into a literary correspondence with your majesty : nevertheless, in order to please his majesty of Sweden, and to avoid the suspicion of our being unwilling to gratify his desire, we hereby congratulate you on your accession to the throne, and wish you may find in your native country more faithful subjects than we have left there. All the world will do us the justice to believe, that we have received nothing but the most ungrateful returns for our good offices, and that the greater part of our subjects seemed to have no other aim than to hasten our ruin.—Wishing
that

that you may never be exposed to the like misfortunes, we commit you to the protection of God.

“ Your brother and neighbour,

“ AUGUSTUS, King.”

Dresden,

April 8, 1707.

Augustus underwent this mortification with the policy of a man that was accustomed to sad revolutions ; but he knew not how to digest the affront of being compelled to give up Patkul to the vengeance of the king of Sweden.

John Reynold Patkul, a gentleman of Livonia, had done great services for Augustus. He was the czar's ambassador, and was demanded back by the Russian emperor in very high terms. On the other hand, Charles XII. would grant no peace to Augustus on any other condition, than the giving up of Patkul into his hands. These circumstances, and the dread of being reproached with ingratitude, lay heavy upon Augustus. At last he thought to save his reputation, and satisfy the king of Sweden, by contriving the prisoner's escape before the Swedes could seize upon his person ; but Patkul's ill fortune disappointed the king's discretion. The governor of the castle where he lay imprisoned demanded a large sum of money of him to set him at liberty, which Patkul (aware of the king's intention) refused to give him. While they were disputing, the Swedes came up, and the victim was forced to be delivered into their hands.

The unfortunate Patkul was condemned to be broken alive upon the wheel, and bore that punishment with constancy which in its very apparatus is capable of staggering the firmest resolution. His crimes were, his opposing the will of

Charles XI. father to Charles XII. in maintaining the liberties of Livonia his country, and successively passing into the service of Augustus and the czar, the sworn enemies of Sweden. His character of ambassador ought to have guarded him against such barbarous treatment; but Charles, who considered him only as a rebel subject, put him to a cruel death, which was in his eyes no more than an act of justice.

The czar was now highly provoked at the treaty concluded at Alt-Ranstadt, by Augustus with the king of Sweden, and sent his complaints into all the states of Europe of the treatment offered to his minister. He omitted nothing that might contribute to glut his revenge. He gained over to his interest the principal of the Poles, who met at Leopold in great numbers, and engaged them to a resolution of electing a new king, and writing to all foreign powers, not to acknowledge any other king of Poland than the person whom they should advance to the throne.

In the mean time Stanislaus procured himself to be acknowledged by most of the princes in Europe, some of whom gave him that satisfaction only that they might have it in their power more certainly to do him a mischief.

There was held in May another assembly at Lublin, in which the throne was declared vacant. The diet was called for a third election, when Stanislaus, leaving the king of Sweden in Saxony, came into Poland with general Reinschildt at the head of sixteen Swedish regiments. Charles followed them soon after with the rest of the army. Upon his approach, the czar retired speedily into his own dominions; but neither the ice, nor the difficulty of the way, could put a
stop

stop to his enemy, who marched incessantly in order to reach him.

1708. After several engagements, in which the Swedes were always conquerors, the army, which now began to want necessaries, seized upon Mohilow, a frontier place of Poland, that was well supplied with provisions. This succour came very seasonably, before the arrival of the convoy, which general Leewenhaupt was to bring up, with a supply of twelve thousand men. The king of Sweden for some time still pursuing the Muscovites, marched his troops toward the Ukraine, where he hoped to subsist them by means of Mazzeppa, the prince of the Cossacks who inhabit that country. He had entered into a private treaty with this general, who thought to revenge himself of the czar for the ill treatment he had received from him. The czar communicating to him his design of bringing into greater subjection the Cossacks, a sort of vagabond people like the Tartars, Mazzeppa told him it would be impossible to execute his project; which threw the czar into such violence of passion, that he threatened to have him impaled alive. This general had engaged to join the king of Sweden with 30,000 men, who waited for him with impatience, but waited in vain. The Cossack's designs were discovered by the Muscovites, who prevented the execution of them, cut his troops in pieces, and obliged him to fly for shelter to the king of Sweden with 6000 men, the feeble remains of his army. His towns were taken, his provisions plundered, the enemy in the heart of his dominions, destroying with fire and sword, and himself without any other consolation than the affection of the Cossacks.

Mean-

Meanwhile Leewenhaupt was bringing up the ammunition and supplies which the king of Sweden expected, the czar, informed of his march, resolved to prevent his joining with the king of Sweden. In short, it was a decisive blow; if this convoy could be carried off, the Swedes must be reduced to extremities; and therefore he made no hesitation to march against Leewenhaupt, whom he encountered near Lesno. He had with him 50,000 men, and the general of the enemy but 16,000. Yet, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, the brave Swedes stood five obstinate engagements in three days; but at last Leewenhaupt was overpowered, and obliged to retreat with the loss of 10,000 of his men. He set fire to the waggons loaden with provisions, to prevent their falling into the enemies hands; but the Muscovites came up time enough to extinguish the fire, and saved the best part of the ammunition.

Leewenhaupt arrived at the king's camp crowned with glory, but without the succours, which were now become absolutely necessary. The 5000 men he had saved from slaughter, far from being a recruit, seemed to be come only to increase their distress.

So many misfortunes would have subdued the courage of any other man than Charles XII. Trained up as he was in a course of prosperity, it might have been thought that his losses would have hung the heavier on him when he fell into adversity; but, losing nothing of his natural resolution, he taught his soldiers to bear the severest hunger and fatigue with resignation. At the distance he was from all places whence he might have expected relief, he had no hope but in Stanislaus; who, however, had already too much business upon his hands from general Siniawski,
and

and besides would have run too great a hazard by marching into the Ukraine, where the Muscovites could easily have impeded his passage.

Every thing now conspired to ruin the king of Sweden's army. The winter was so severe, that 2000 of his soldiers perished by cold. Those troops, hitherto so well maintained, had not then wherewithal to guard them from the injuries of the weather. The greater part of them were without boots, without shoes, without cloaths, and all wanted bread. This army, farther weakened by continual skirmishes, was at the point of perishing entirely, when Charles XII. setting at nought all obstacles, laid siege to Pultowa, a town situated on the eastern borders of the Ukraine. He flattered himself that he should put an end to the miseries of his army by the conquest of this place, where the czar had laid up abundance of provisions. But neither the valour of the Swedes, nor the intelligence Mazeppa had in the place, were able to give success to the king of Sweden's design. He could not even prevent the enemy from throwing succours into the town, and the siege began to be drawn out into length. Charles, whose courage increased by difficulties, warmly pressed the besieged. The curtain was already taken, when he received a wound in his heel. This accident was followed by news which would have staggered any other man of less courage than himself.

He learned that the czar was come up with an army twice as large as his own, which consisted but of 18,000 Swedes, and a like number of Cossacks, half dead with cold and want. The Muscovite army, beside the advantage of numbers, wanted for nothing, and consisted of fresh troops well experienced by several engagements.

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Under these extremities, Charles made a last effort to save his army. His wound put him out of condition to act with his wonted vigour. Inclosed, however, between the Borysthènes and the river Pultowa, and farther hemmed in by a numerous army, he was under a necessity of making his way through the enemy, or of perishing with hunger. He did not hesitate a moment. He sent for the field-marshal Reinschildt into his tent by night, and gave him orders to prepare to march against the Muscovites next morning, which he received with a surprise mixed with admiration. He withdrew to execute his master's commands, who slept soundly till break of day.

On the two monarchs whose fortunes were to be decided by the event of that great day were the eyes of all Europe fixed. They were both animated with an eager desire of conquering an irreconcilable enemy. Thirty victories did not allow Charles to doubt of success; and Alexiowitz equally flattered himself from his thirty defeats, which had taught him how to conquer; both of them fond of glory, Charles for its own sake, and Alexiowitz for the happiness and interest of his empire. The Swede had made kings, and the Muscovite had made dominions and subjects. Charles risked his whole reputation; and Alexiowitz, to the title of founder of a people and an empire, sought to give the addition of the conqueror of the greatest general of his age.

The action began by break of day between the two armies. The Swedes, to the number of 25,000, came out of their trenches, and marched directly against the enemy, who were beginning to form their camp. The Swedish horse fell upon the enemies squadrons with their usual fury; and the Muscovites fell back in disorder. Success already
ready

ready declared for their enemies, and Charles made no doubt of gaining the day, when the czar stopt the fugitives, rallied his horse, made head against the conquerors, broke them, and drove them before him with all the fury that the shame of having turned their backs, and vengeance, could inspire. Charles expected, with impatience, that general Creuts, whom he had detached with 5000 horse, should fall upon the enemy in flank; but Creuts was marched off. This circumstance secured the Muscovites, and was the ruin of the Swedes.

All however was not yet desperate. The king of Sweden disposed the troops he had left in two lines. The foot were posted in the center, and supported on each side by the horse, which made up the two wings. The czar disposed his army in the same order, and advanced his foot against the foot of the enemy. In the mean time seventy-two cannons played upon the Swedes, whose whole artillery was only four bad pieces of mortar ill served.

Alexiowitz, mounted upon a Turkish horse, flew from rank to rank, while Charles was forced to be carried in a litter because of his wound. In the beginning of this action, the king's litter was shattered to pieces by a cannon ball, and his majesty overturned. The Swedish army, upon seeing the king fall, immediately gave way; all were put to the sword or taken prisoners, and the king himself was obliged to fly. He retired to the Turks, whom he attempted in vain to arm against the conqueror.

Europe heard with astonishment the defeat of Charles, and the elector king Augustus soon shewed that he thought treaties but temporary laws. He was no sooner sure of the victory gained

gained by the Muscovites, than he cast the ministers into prison who had signed the peace of Alt-Ranstadt. He published a manifesto to retract the engagements, which he said they went beyond their powers in making, and declared his resolution to recover the throne, whence he had been driven by violence. He set the best interpretation he could upon his own conduct, and severely censured the proceedings of Stanislaus's party, upon whom, and his adherents, he liberally bestowed the odious names of traitors to their king and country.

This manifesto was in some measure serviceable to Augustus, and might be of use to mislead the people; but in reality produced nothing in his favour. The Poles were at liberty to elect a king in his stead, as he had submitted to the law which declares the crown forfeited upon the violation of the *Pacta Conventa*. And how could Augustus clear himself of the manifest breach of his oath? he had kept the Saxons in Poland against his engagements, and had not consulted the republic in the case of a war which most nearly concerned them. Accustomed to absolute power in Saxony, he gave himself no trouble about following a different plan in Poland. This arbitrary disposition exasperated his subjects, who, perhaps, would not have been pleased at a good agreement between the king and the republic; as this circumstance might have disappointed them of the satisfaction of revenging themselves upon Augustus, for obliging them to own his authority in opposition to the other candidates, whose interest they had embraced.

Stanislaus, therefore, was the lawful king. Beside, Augustus had renounced his right, if he had any then remaining, when he signed the treaty of abdication; but Kings are not always governed

by strict equity. Augustus rather entered Poland in triumph, than as a king stript of his dominions and trying to recover them. A large body of the nobility and great men joined him in his march. The principal persons, whom the king of Sweden's fortune gained over to Stanislaus, soon deserted him to follow the conqueror's ally.

Stanislaus had no hope left but in general Crassaw, who was the only obstacle Augustus had to encounter; and he therefore took all necessary measures to prevent the general from doing him any mischief in Poland. His caution went even farther: he wrote to the council of Saxony to arm the militia at all events, and to seize upon the passages, for fear the Swedes should a second time march into Saxony. The council diligently obeyed the commands of Augustus, who ordered all the country people that could carry guns to be ready to march, and gave arms to about 80,000 peasants.

General Crassaw was too weak to keep the field against Augustus, whose troops were superior in number, and not inferior in courage to the Swedes, since their king's misfortunes. And thus the only part the general had to take, was to retire out of Poland, that he might not expose his soldiers to certain ruin; he therefore resolved to pass into Swedish Pomerania, whither Stanislaus was obliged to follow him, having no dependence left in Poland; beside, he found it necessary to preserve to the king of Sweden, for occasions of moment, the few troops that were left with him.

After the victory of Pultowa, the czar came into Poland, where he had an interview with Augustus in the neighbourhood of Thorn. The two monarchs agreed together in what manner to be revenged of Sweden, and to prevent, for the future,
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the mischiefs which had occasioned the ruin of the one, and brought the other to the brink of a precipice.

1709. In the mean time, the senators were assembled at Thorn to acknowledge Augustus to be the lawful king of Poland; and to make this step the more solemn and authentic, they published a declaration upon this subject. The pope, ever careful to establish his authority, sent a bull to Augustus to discharge him from the treaty of Alt-Ranfstadt. And thus it was that he re-ascended the throne.

SECT. XIV.

AUGUSTUS II. RESTORED.

AUGUSTUS earnestly desired to have the treaty he had concluded with the czar approved by the republic. He therefore proposed this affair to the great council then assembled at Warsaw. The senators were all at the king's devotion, but the nobility were not so easily gained, and every day brought fresh impediments. At last, after great disputes, the treaty was ratified to the king's satisfaction. His majesty, to gain the love of his subjects, made an act of indemnity, and took great care to see it fully and exactly executed. Beside this, he did an act of justice, to let the nobility see what a real value he had for them: a colonel, who had assaulted a deputy of Czera with his sabre, was severely punished by his orders. His affability engaged their affections, and the nobility, at last, was again prevailed on, by this conduct, to acknowledge him as lawful king of Po-

land, in the general diet which was held at Warsaw.

1712. The weak remains of Stanislaus's party in Poland, however, still caused some commotions. The palatine of Kiow, one of the king of Sweden's followers, over-ran Poland with six thousand men, made himself master of Sniatin, and kept the garrison prisoners of war. Till then Stanislaus could still rely upon some of the Polish lords. The hopes of the party were not quite extinct; they were even somewhat revived by the victory of the Swedes over the Saxons. The Muscovites and Danes, routed together at Gadebusch, and the burning the town of Altena to ashes by general Steinbock, inspired still some terror of the Swedish army; but an unforeseen event changed the face of affairs, and deprived king Stanislaus of the few followers he had left in Poland.

1713. Charles XII. who, as we have already observed, repaired to the Turks at Bender, had laid a scheme for turning the Ottoman arms upon his rival, and not leaving Turkey but at the head of an hundred thousand men. He long hoped to succeed in this project; but at last, seeing all his intrigues fail, and the czar to have the ascendancy over him in the divan, he took a resolution to fix his abode among the Turks, whether they should approve it or not. He would never yield to the instances of the lords who had attended him in his flight, and positively maintained, that an order to send him away, which the basha of Bender said he had, must be a forgery. It was to no purpose to tell him, the order was to seize upon his person in case of resistance; he was still resolute. With three hundred men in his house, which he had barricaded and intrenched, he calmly waited the coming up of an army of 25,000 Turks and Tatars,

tars, who easily broke through those feeble intrenchments, and took the three hundred Swedes prisoners. The king himself, after some resistance, was taken by the janisaries. The news of this strange action was soon spread throughout all Europe, and particularly in Poland. The king of Sweden was supposed to be lost beyond all remedy, and several of the Poles speedily returned to their obedience to Augustus.

Stanislaus, finding he was deserted by the Poles, entertained thoughts of quitting a throne he knew not how to keep. He imagined that Fleming, the minister of king Augustus, would procure him advantageous conditions in gratitude for the signal services he had done him. He had prevailed upon the king of Sweden to lay aside the prosecution of that general, whom in all probability he would have treated like Patkul, as he looked upon him to be a rebellious subject who served against his country. He therefore had an interview with this minister, who made use of the confidence of his benefactor to abuse him the more effectually.

The king of Sweden was at Bender when Stanislaus wrote to desire he would consent to his abdication and allow him to sacrifice himself for the public peace, and had not yet shewn Turkey the strange spectacle we have been describing. After reading the letter of Stanislaus, he absolutely refused his consent to a step which he thought would affect his glory. In the mean time, Stanislaus, finding it necessary to comply with the time, took a resolution to go to the king of Sweden himself, thinking he might gain his approbation. He had entered upon the Turkish territories, and, not knowing the catastrophe of Bender, passed for a Swede who was going to the king. Upon saying that he was a Swede, he was seized and carried

under a guard to Bender, whither the king of Sweden was led prisoner himself in a chariot. Charles, upon information that Stanislaus was not far off, exclaimed, "Run, and tell him to make no treaty with Augustus, for we shall soon have a change of affairs."

Charles, however, at last convinced that he should never be able to turn the arms of the Turks against Muscovy, repaired into his dominions, where he assigned a retreat to Stanislaus in the duchy of Deux Ponts, and allowed him the revenues of that province, which amounted to seventy thousand crowns.

Charles flattered himself, that he should still restore the terror of his name. The fine provinces conquered by his ancestors, and then ravaged or possessed by his enemies, could not in the least abate his courage. Though threatened that he should soon see the Danes, the Muscovites, the Saxons, the Prussians, and the English, in the heart of his dominions, like another Hannibal, he fought to carry the war into the domains of his enemies.

1716. The storm grew black over Norway. Charles, at the head of 20,000 men, marched into this kingdom without any obstacle. All Europe was surprized at the inactivity of the czar, who had agreed with his allies to make a descent into Sweden; but some secret motives had diverted his views another way. He, who had been the king of Poland's ally, was now become his cruel enemy, and the hand which had given the crown to Augustus, was now going to wrest it from him in favour of Stanislaus. In few words we shall develop the cause of this surprizing resolution.

Baron Gortz was then the confident of the king of Sweden, who had before been minister to
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the duke of Holstein. This man, who was by nature bold, enterprizing, and insinuating, and had long been a projector of great designs, was born to be the minister of such a king as Charles the twelfth; and seeing this prince, in the present circumstances, ready to be oppressed by a number of enemies whom his glory and misfortunes had raised, he ventured to lay a scheme for changing the face of Europe.

Obtaining early notice of the secret discontent of the czar, who was passionately bent upon getting some footing in Germany, Gortz proposed to the czar to enter into a league with Sweden; to restore Stanislaus to the throne; to take the crown of England from the elector of Hanover, and give it to the heir of the Stuarts; and to reinstate the duke of Holstein in his dominions. He made the glory and interest of the czar to consist in these revolutions, and offered in the name of his master, to give up to Muscovy the Swedish provinces he had conquered, and to prevail upon the duke of Holstein to sell him his dominions.

The czar approved these propositions of Charles's minister, and prepared to set all Europe in a flame, while Gortz talked of nothing but peace in Holland, where he then was. He thought his designs had been covered with an impenetrable secrecy: but the duke of Orleans, regent of France, had an insight into his intrigues, by means of spies which he had in all the courts of Europe. The king of England, informed of what was contriving against him, took up count Gyllembourg, the king of Sweden's ambassador at his court, and the States-general likewise seized upon Gortz at the Hague.

Gortz, who was soon set at liberty as well as Gyllembourg, was only the more incensed to pursue his project. By his advice, the czar, who took a journey into France for his own instruction, proposed to the duke of Orleans to be the mediator of peace between Sweden and Muscovy, and to make an alliance offensive and defensive with those two crowns and Spain.

The regent of France could by no means be brought to engage in such a scheme. He hated cardinal Alberoni, who was then the first minister in Spain, and joined with the king of England and the emperor to oppose his ambition.

In this interval, Gortz settled the affairs of the treasury in Sweden, which he had found in the lowest condition; and having taken the best care of them which circumstances would then admit of, he speedily set about executing the plan which he had projected.

1718. While this minister of Charles XII. was thus disposing of the estates of Europe with the minister of the czar, his master's arms made Norway tremble. He had laid siege, on the 10th of October 1718, to Frederickshall, a strong town situated on the mouth of the river Tistendall. The conquest of this place would have opened to him the rest of the kingdom, and he pressed the siege with all his vigour. The engineers had assured him the place could not hold out ten days, when Charles was killed by a cannon-ball, which shot him through the head as he was viewing the trenches.

The death of this monarch broke all the designs of the czar, delivered the king of Poland from the fears of a revolution, which his minister Fleming, a man of great depth and penetration, had foreseen, and left the Swedes at liberty to execute

pute upon baron Gortz the hatred which the nation bore him.

Augustus now began to be secure from any apprehensions from abroad; but he was still kept in uneasiness by commotions at home. The eternal diets of the Poles gave him excessive trouble. New suspicions were raised every day; and it seemed as if he had been called again to the throne, only to be perpetually tormented. He could not dispose of any offices to the strangers who had done him service, but the Poles murmured at his gratitude. They expressed their ill-will toward him upon many occasions, but more especially in the affair of Courland.

The inclinations of the Courlanders had raised count Maurice of Saxony, the natural son of king Augustus by the countess of Koningmarc, to the sovereignty of that duchy. All Poland in general accused the king of favouring the election of his son, and he was obliged to make him lay aside the thoughts of his advancement. Nor was this all the mortification which Augustus experienced from a people, who were jealous of the least shadow of their liberty; but further particulars on that head do not fall within the compass of our design.

1733. This prince, the most illustrious example of the different extremes of fortune, died on the 1st of February 1733, at about sixty-three years of age. He was the son of John George III. elector of Saxony, of the Albertine branch; and Anna Sophia, the daughter of Frederick III. king of Denmark. He married Christina Everhardina of Brandenburg-Bareith, and succeeded, in 1697, his brother John George IV. who died without issue. Three years after, being chosen king of Poland, he saw himself forced to give up

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the crown to Stanislaus, who was afterwards obliged to return it back into his hands.

Dreaded in Poland, and adored in Saxony, Augustus was like the Roman emperor whose name he bore, polite, affable, and obliging, and loved and protected the arts and sciences. But, like Augustus, he was better qualified to make his people enjoy the pleasures of peace, than to procure them glory by the success of his arms. Cautious, and even fearful in prosperity, he bore the greatest shocks of adversity with resolution. Full of clemency and moderation, he regained the throne only to pardon his most mortal enemies. Instructed by misfortunes, after his second coming to the crown, he so far complied with the temper of a jealous republic, as to remove his dearest friends from the preferments he had given them. He deserved the love of the Poles, and had only their indifference or hatred.

The death of Augustus opened a new and dreadful scene of war in Europe, the neighbouring princes interesting themselves strongly in the choice of a new sovereign. The elector of Saxony, son of the late monarch, and Stanislaus, whose daughter was married to the French king, declared themselves candidates. The emperor, the czarina, and the king of Prussia espoused the cause of the Saxon; the King of France, Louis XV. very naturally supported the pretensions of his father-in-law; and no sooner was he informed that the emperor had assembled a body of forces in Silesia, than he ordered the duke of Berwick to advance to the Rhine with a numerous army, and to take measures for entering Germany, in case the Imperialists should attempt to penetrate into Poland, on the frontiers of
which,

which they and a large body of Russian troops were posted.

In the mean time Stanislaus, who was still at the court of France, found means to transport himself privately into Warsaw, where he continued undiscovered till he found it his interest to appear in public.

As the day of election drew nigh the Russian and Prussian ministers delivered their several declarations, by way of protest, against the eventual election of Stanislaus, as a proscribed person, and one rendered for ever incapable of wearing a crown.

About the middle of August the Russian general Lascki entered Poland at the head of 50,000 men; and the diet of election was opened with the usual ceremony. Prince Winozawiski, chief of the Saxon interest, retired to the other side of the Vistula with 3000 men, including some of the nobility who adhered to the cause of Augustus. The primate of Poland, who, as we have before had occasion to observe, always acts as regent during an interregnum, endeavoured to reconcile all differences among the grandees in order to proceed peaceably to the new election. Stanislaus was unanimously chosen king, and appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with loud acclamations. Augustus's party protested against the election, and being by this time increased to 10,000 men, they joined the Russian army, which had advanced by forced marches. Stanislaus, sensible of his inability to withstand such powerful enemies, retired with the primate and the French ambassador to Denmark, leaving the palatine of Kiow at Warsaw. This general attacked the Saxon palace, which was instantly surrendered, and the soldiers and inhabitants

bitants plundered the houses of such of the nobility as had declared for Augustus, and the hotel of the Russian ambassador,

SECT. XV.

AUGUSTUS III.

WHILE these transactions were passing, the Poles, who had joined the Muscovites, finding it impossible to pass the Vistula before the expiration of the time fixed for the session of the diet, erected a kola at Cracow, where the elector of Saxony was chosen, and proclaimed by the bishop of that place king of Poland by the name of Augustus III. on the 6th day of October 1733. The two armies then crossed the river, and the palatine of Kiow retiring towards Cracow, they took possession of Warsaw, where in their turn they plundered the palaces and houses belonging to the opposite party.

Meanwhile the French king, incensed at the part the emperor had acted against his father-in-law, entered into a treaty with the courts of Madrid and Turin, by which they agreed jointly to declare war against the emperor. These three powers had their respective interests, but they all concurred in one view, namely, the weakening of the house of Austria.

It is not our purpose to trace any farther the events of this dispute, which would lead us too far from the object of the present history : it will only be necessary to say, that in the end the emperor Charles VI. lost almost all Italy by giving a king to Poland ; and a son of the king of Spain obtained, in two campaigns, the two Sicilies, which
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had been so often before taken and retaken, and had been the constant objects of the attention of the house of Austria for above two centuries.

The election of Augustus as king was recognised by the other powers of Europe, and Stanislaus, after suffering the greatest misery, in effecting a memorable and almost miraculous escape under the disguise of a peasant, had the revenues and government of Bar and Lorrain settled upon him by Louis his son-in-law.

In the year 1745, the king of Prussia, under the pretence that the king of Poland and the empress queen were about to invade his dominions at three different quarters, and that they were to be assisted by the czarina, all at once broke into Lusatia, entered Leipzig, and laid Saxony under contribution. The king of Poland fled to Prague. His troops and those of the Austrians were defeated at Pirna on the 15th of December, the king of Prussia entered the capital of Saxony as a conqueror, and obliged its sovereign to accept of whatever terms he pleased to prescribe.

Thus did Augustus in Saxony (for the war did not reach his Polish dominions) experience the same fate from the king of Prussia as his father had met with from Charles XII. By an extraordinary reverse of sentiments, however, when he was driven out of Saxony he was received with kindness and affection by the Poles.

His Prussian majesty was now become absolute master of Saxony and of Dresden, where the queen of Poland still remained, and acted with a spirit that well became her high birth. The king of Prussia had often mentioned to the public the confederacy that had been formed against him, but had now received intelligence that the original papers lay in the archives of Dresden, and he

gave

gave orders for seizing them. This was done; and not without some imputation upon his politeness, as the queen of Poland opposed in person the officer who executed the order. His Prussian majesty, however, made no delay in publishing those originals, as they served in some measure to justify his irruption, and the prodigious contribution he had levied on the Saxons.

The public commiserated the fate of Augustus; and that of his excellent queen, who is thought to have died of grief and indignation at the barbarous treatment which she received at Dresden by order of the Prussian monarch. Augustus remained an illustrious exile in Poland, till the peace of Hubertsburg, February 15, 1763, which restored him to his dominions; and he died of a lethargic disorder on the 5th of October following.

As the crown of Poland had for many years descended in one family, it was thought not impracticable to procure it for his son; who accordingly declared himself a candidate; but he dying on the 17th of September following, the Russians favoured the election of a Piast in the person of count Poniatowski, son of count Poniatowski the friend and companion of Charles XII. This candidate, notwithstanding the opposition of the great house of Radzivil, and count Brannitski, who pretended that the election was overawed by the neighbourhood of the Russian army, was chosen king on the 7th of September 1764 by the name and titles of STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS, king of Poland and great duke of Lithuania, and was recognised as such by all the great potentates of Europe.

S E C T. XVI.

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS.

1764. STANISLAUS was in the 32d year of his age when he ascended the throne, and seemed calculated by his virtues and abilities to raise Poland from its deplorable state; if the defects of the constitution had not fettered his exertions for the public good. The fairest hopes were conceived of his future reign; but these flattering prefaces, at first realized, were soon disappointed by the factions of a turbulent people, fomented by the intrigues of the neighbouring powers: thus the reign of the most amiable among the Polish sovereigns was doomed to experience the dreadful effects of that excessive liberty, which is inconsistent with the existence of government.

From the time of the death of John Sobieski, during a space of seventy years, the Polish nation, from causes very generally known, had been so little in the habit of paying an uninfluenced attention to its own affairs, that it appears to have almost forgotten its political existence. For the last thirty years of this period no diet had been held, and the legislative power appeared so thoroughly benumbed, that it hardly seemed to exist; the necessary consequence was, that no one, either from education or experience, had attained the qualifications requisite for the discharge of the functions of a statesman and politician. So little, indeed, were the political interests of this country known, as far as they related to strangers, that when at length it became indispensably necessary to write occasionally to countries beyond the frontiers, foreigners were employed in this business, as no attention had been paid to render the natives

natives capable of undertaking it; and except to those, whom the spirit of adventure had thrown into the military service of other nations, the science of war was totally unknown. It became then a matter of importance to train persons to the public service in each of these departments. This consideration gave occasion to the establishment of a corps of cadets, for which purpose the king employed in the two first years of his reign; the sum of 120,000 ducats, as appears by the declaration of the constitution in 1766, in which this donation of the king to his country is registered.

The tendency of these excellent regulations to increase the power and consequence of Poland by introducing order and regularity into the interior administration, and to rescue the country from its abject dependence upon foreign powers, gave umbrage to the adjacent states, and were likewise vigorously opposed by a strong party within the kingdom: at this crisis too, religious disputes blending themselves with political cabals, the flame of civil discord burst forth with a violence which had not hitherto raged even in Poland.

The body of Polish religionists, termed Dissidents, make a principal figure in the subsequent commotions; their concerns being the real or pretended object of attention in every material transaction. The history of this party is thus sketched by the Polish historians.

The reformation made its way into Poland under Sigismund I. who persecuted its followers: their number however gaining ground, his son Sigismund Augustus not only indulged them in the most liberal exercise of their worship; but admitted them, together with the Greeks, and all other sects then subsisting in Poland, to a seat
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in the diet, and to all the honours and privileges before exclusively confined to the catholics. These maxims of unlimited toleration were so generally adopted by the nation at large, that the members of the diet which assembled upon the decease of Sigismond Augustus, being of different persuasions, determined on a reciprocal indulgence of their respective tenets. In order to avoid any hateful distinctions, they called themselves indiscriminately "Dissidents in religion," a phrase intimating, not, according to our notions, separatists from an established church, but simply persons holding a diversity of opinions in religious matters. It was at the same time enacted, that this difference of religious sentiments should create no difference in civil rights; and accordingly in the *Pacta Conventa* formed by the diet, the following clause was inserted as part of the coronation oath to be tendered to the new sovereign: "I will keep peace among the dissidents." Henry, who objected to this universal toleration, tried to withhold his consent; upon which one of the Polish envoys cried out, "Unless your majesty confirms this article, you cannot be king of Poland;" and he accordingly took an oath to observe this clause, before he was permitted to ascend the throne.

In process of time, however, the Roman catholics, having, under the protection and influence of successive sovereigns, acquired a considerable ascendancy, ventured to appropriate the expression of dissidents to all those who dissented from the catholic religion. This restriction of the original meaning of the title was attended at first with no incroachments on the privileges of the other sects; and the term dissidents, though now conveying the idea of a separation from the esta-

blished worship, was not yet regarded in an obnoxious light. The dissidents indeed still continued in such unquestioned possession of all rights civil and religious, that when it was agreed by both catholics and protestants to persecute the Arians, it was thought previously necessary to expel them from the body of dissidents. In consequence of this exclusion, the Arians, in the reign of John Casimir, were first rendered incapable of being elected nuntios, afterwards deprived of their places of worship, and finally banished from Poland.

This persecution of the Arians, inadvertently assented to by the protestants and Greeks, was only a prelude to that which they in their turn suffered from the catholics; for, as the catholic party became the most powerful, the term dissidents, now confined only to persons professing the protestant and Greek religions, began to grow of a less inoffensive import, and to convey an idea of non-conformity. The sectaries distinguished by that appellation, perceiving the intention of the catholics to undermine their privileges, stipulated and obtained, that they should not be blended with the Arians, or fall under the penal laws enacted against that sect. But these promises were insensibly eluded, their privileges were gradually diminished; in the course of a few years they were subjected to a variety of disqualifications, and at length, in 1733, formally incapacitated from sitting in the diet. An old law of Ladislaus II. against heretics, as well as the penalties levied against the Arians, were revived, and occasionally put in force against the dissidents.

These continual persecutions greatly diminished their number, and consequently rendered their remonstrances ineffectual. The catholics, who now
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took the lead in the diet, even declared it high treason in the dissidents to seek the restoration of their immunities by the intercession of foreign powers; although many of these foreign powers were guarantees to the treaty of Oliva, in which it was stipulated, that the rights of the dissidents should be maintained in their full latitude.

Such was the situation of the dissidents at the accession of his present majesty; who, though himself strongly inclined to toleration, was yet obliged to concur with the general sense of the diet, and to confirm in their full extent all the laws which had been promulgated against them. The dissidents applied to the courts of London, Petersburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, as the mediating powers in the treaty of Oliva; who warmly supported their cause, and presented memorials to the ensuing diet, demanding a restoration not only of their religious establishments, but also of all their ancient privileges secured to them by the above-mentioned treaty. The diet of 1766, however, was not of a temper to accede to these proposals.

The enemies of toleration contended, that the privileges alluded to were become obsolete, having been repeatedly abolished in various diets; and that the dissidents had no well-founded claim either to the restitution of their civil immunities, or to the toleration of their worship: the bishop of Cracow, the most bigoted of the catholics, even proposed a law against all who should abet the opposite party. Violent altercations arose in the assembly, when the Prussian and Russian memorials were read; and as an immediate tumult was apprehended, the king retired from the diet without proroguing it, as usual, to the following day. The primate likewise refused to continue the sitting.

ting, and the members separated in great disorder. On the subsequent day, the spirit of intolerance was in no degree abated; the moderate party was over-ruled, and the acts against the dissidents were confirmed without reserve. But, in order to conciliate the mediating powers, the bench of bishops, by command of the diet, drew up nine articles in favour of the dissidents, relative to the free exercise of their worship. These concessions not being thought sufficiently favourable, while the exceptionable laws remained unrepealed, the empress of Russia remonstrated against the proceeding of the diet; and the dissidents began to form confederacies in different parts of the kingdom. They were joined by many discontented catholics, and assisted by a large body of Russian troops, who entered Thorn, where the first and principal confederacy took its rise. All the mediating powers, Great Britain, Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden, testified their approbation of these confederacies. The disputes soon began to embrace other objects beside religion; political grievances were likewise brought forward: and several confederacies started up in different parts of the kingdom among the catholic nobles; all of whom affected to be advocates for toleration, and declared their intentions of supporting the cause of the dissidents. Prince Radzivil, who had signalized himself in opposing the king's election, was appointed marshal to all the catholic confederacies, united in one formidable association under the appellation of malcontents. The coalition of the catholic confederacy with that of the dissidents, soon after took place in the palace of prince Radzivil at Warsaw. Meanwhile the king convoked an extraordinary diet, as the only probable means to prevent a civil war, and
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to appease the empress of Russia, whose troops were advanced within a small distance of Warsaw. The diet, however, which was summoned for the purpose of reconciling the opposite parties, failed in producing the intended effect; the bishop of Cracow and his partisans inveighed with such bitterness against the pretensions of the dissidents, and against the interference of foreign powers, that he, together with the bishop of Kiow, and a few others, the most violent of their party, were arrested in the night of the 15th of October 1767, by a corps of Russian troops, and sent, without trial, to Russia, where they experienced a rigorous imprisonment of more than five years.

The diet, intimidated by the fate of their leading members, and being no longer inflamed by their eloquence, appointed, though not without some altercation and tumult, a grand committee to adjust the affairs of the dissidents in conjunction with the mediating powers, and then broke up. This grand committee expressed the most favourable disposition towards the dissidents, and proposed that all the laws enacted against them should be repealed, and their ancient privileges restored. These resolutions being laid before the extraordinary diet which was convened the beginning of the following year, 1768, were ratified almost without opposition. This ready and unanimous acquiescence of the diet in regulations totally repugnant to the sentiments of the majority, can only be accounted for by the dread of the Russian troops quartered in Warsaw, and the influence of bribes judiciously distributed by the Russian minister. The operation of the same causes rendered the diet equally compliant in other particulars; and induced them to establish several civil regulations, tending to perpetuate

the defects of the constitution, and which had no other recommendation except their subserviency to the Russian designs upon Poland.

The nation at large seemed at this juncture to have caught the submissive spirit of the diet, and received the new edicts with every symptom of cordiality. Poland seemed to enjoy for a moment an universal tranquillity; but it was that sullen tranquillity which precedes a tempest, and announces to the intelligent observer the most violent commotions.

During these transactions, the king, without influence, and consequently without a shadow of authority, was one moment hurried down the popular current, and the next forced by the mediating powers to accede to all the conditions which they laid before him: a wretched situation for a prince of his spirit and magnanimity, and below which it is scarcely possible for any sovereign to be reduced. But more grievous scenes yet awaited the unfortunate monarch: he was doomed to behold his country torn to pieces by the most dreadful of all calamities, a religious war; to be frequently deprived almost of common necessities; to be indebted for his very subsistence to the voluntary contributions of his friends; to be little better than a state prisoner in his capital; to be carried off and nearly assassinated; to see his fairest provinces wrested from him; and, finally, to depend, for his own security and that of his subjects, upon the protection of those very powers who had dismembered his empire.

The Polish malcontents could certainly alledge some very plausible causes of dissatisfaction. The laws passed at the last diet bore a greater resemblance to the absolute mandates of a Russian viceroy, than to the resolutions of a free assembly.

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The outrage committed upon the bishop of Cracow and his adherents entirely subverted all liberty of debate; while the authoritative manner in which the mediating powers of Berlin and Petersburg still continued to interfere in the affairs of Poland, threatened a more grievous subjection. These specious grounds of disgust, joined to an ill-timed spirit of discontent which had gone forth throughout the nation against the king, occasioned the intestine commotions that soon reduced Poland to the most dreadful state of desolation.

The diet had not long been dissolved, before the indulgences granted to the dissidents excited a general discontent among the Roman catholic party. Several confederacies made their appearance toward the frontiers of the Turkish empire in defence of the sacred catholic faith: they carried standards before them highly calculated to inflame the zeal of the populace; upon some of these, images of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus were delineated; upon others the Spread Eagle of Poland, with the mottos "Conquest or Death,"—"For religion and liberty." Some banners bore as a device a red cross, under which was inscribed "The symbol of victory." The private soldiers of the confederacy, like the crusaders of old, wore a cross interwoven in their clothes. One party of these insurgents seized upon the fortress of Bar in Podolia, and another got possession of Cracow. The royal troops, who marched against them, were either routed or prevailed upon to join them. In this dreadful crisis of affairs, the senate petitioned the ambassador from the court of Petersburg not to withdraw the Russian troops from the kingdom, as they afforded the only security against the confederates: the request was readily complied with, and this

unfortunate country became the theatre of the most cruel and complicated of all wars; partly civil, partly religious, and partly foreign. The confusion, devastation, and civil war, continued in Poland during the years 1769, 1770, and 1771, whereby the whole face of the country was almost destroyed; many of the principal popish families retired into foreign states with their effects; and had it not been for a body of Russian troops, which acted as guards to the king at Warsaw, that city had likewise exhibited a scene of plunder and massacre. To these complicated evils were added, in the year 1770, that most dreadful scourge, the pestilence, which spread from the frontiers of Turkey to the adjoining provinces of Podolia, Volhinia, and the Ukraine; and in these provinces it is said to have swept off 250,000 of the people. Meanwhile some of the Polish confederates interceded with the Turks to assist them against their powerful oppressors; and a war ensued between the Russians and the Turks on account of Poland. The conduct of the Grand Signior and of the Ottoman Porte towards the distressed Poles was just and honourable, and the very reverse of that of their Christian, Catholic, and Apostolic neighbours.

Among the various acts of cruelty and revenge which distinguish and disgrace this part of the Polish history, one event is too conspicuous to be overlooked, and well deserves to be recorded in the most particular manner. We shall therefore copy the account given of it by the ingenious Mr. Wraxall, whose name is well known in the literary world, and who, during his residence at Warsaw, obtained the most authentic information upon that interesting transaction.

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"In the midst of these turbulent and disastrous scenes," says he, "the confederates (who ever considered the king as unlawfully elected, and who imputed to his fatal elevation and direction, or approbation, all the various ills under which the kingdom groaned from the Russian oppression) planned and executed one of the most daring enterprises of which modern history makes mention. I mean the attempt to assassinate the king. It is somewhat remarkable, that in an age so humanised, so free from the enormous and flagitious crimes common in barbarous centuries, so enlightened as is the present, this is the third attempt on a crowned head in my remembrance*. Louis XV. Joseph I. of Portugal, and Stanislaus Augustus, all narrowly escaped assassination. As the attempt on his Polish majesty was perhaps the most atrocious, and his escape certainly the most extraordinary and incredible of the three, I shall be as minute as possible in the enumeration of all the principal circumstances which led to, and which attended this remarkable event.

"A Polish nobleman, named Pulaski, a general in the army of the confederates, was the person who planned the atrocious enterprise; and the conspirators who carried it into execution were about forty in number, and were headed by three chiefs, named Lukawski, Strawenski, and Kosinski. These three chiefs had been engaged and hired to that purpose by Pulaski, who in the town of Czetshokow in great Poland obliged them to swear in the most solemn manner, by placing their hands between his, either to deliver the king alive into his hands, or, in case that was impossible,

* It is unfortunately in our power to add to this number several recent instances of regicide, dictated by a diabolical enthusiasm for which it is difficult to account.

to put him to death. The three chiefs chose thirty-seven persons to accompany them. On the 2d of November, about a month after they had quitted Czetſchokow, they obtained admiffion into Warſaw unſuſpected or undiſcovered, by the following ſtratagem: They diſguiſed themſelves as peaſants who came to ſell hay, and artfully concealed their ſaddles, arms, and cloaths under the loads of hay which they brought in waggons, the more effectually to eſcape detection.

“ On Sunday night, the 3d of September 1771, a few of the conſpirators remained in the ſkirts of the town; and the others repaired to the place of rendezvous, the ſtreet of the capuchins, where his majeſty was expected to paſs by about his uſual hour of returning to the palace. The king had been to viſit his uncle prince Czartoriſki, grand chancellor of Lithuania, and was on his return from thence to the palace between nine and ten o'clock. He was in a coach, accompanied by at leaſt fifteen or ſixteen attendants, beſide an aid-de-camp in the carriage: ſcarce was he at the diſtance of two hundred paces from prince Czartoriſki's palace, when he was attacked by the conſpirators, who commanded the coachman to ſtop on pain of inſtant death. They fired ſeveral ſhot into the carriage, one of which paſſed through the body of a heyduc, who endeavoured to defend his maſter from the violence of the aſſaſſins. Almoſt all the other perſons * who preceded and accompanied his majeſty were diſperſed; the aid-de-camp abandoned him, and attempted to conceal

* “ It is incredible that ſuch a number of perſons as were with his Poliſh majeſty on that memorable night ſhould all ſo baſely abandon him, except the ſingle heyduc who was killed, and who ſo bravely defended his maſter. This man was a proteſtant; he was not killed on the ſpot, but expired next morning of his wounds. The king allows a penſion to his widow and children.”

himſelf

himself by flight. Meanwhile the king had opened the door of his carriage with the design of effecting his escape under shelter of the night, which was extremely dark. He had even alighted, when the assassins seized him by the hair, exclaiming with horrible execrations, "We have thee now; thy hour is come." One of them discharged a pistol at him so very near, that he felt the heat of the flash; while another cut him across the head with his sabre, which penetrated to the bone. They then laid hold of his majesty by the collar, and, mounting on horseback, dragged him along the ground between their horses at full gallop for near five hundred paces through the streets of Warsaw*.

"All was confusion and disorder during this time at the palace, where the attendants who had deserted their master had spread the alarm. The foot-guards ran immediately to the spot from whence the king had been conveyed, but they found only his hat all bloody, and his bag: this increased their apprehensions for his life. The whole city was in an uproar. The assassins profited of the universal confusion, terror, and consternation, to bear away their prize. Finding, however, that he was incapable of following them

* "It is astonishing, that, in the number of balls which passed through the carriage, not one should hurt or wound the king. Several went through his *pelisse*, or fur great coat. I have seen this cloak, and the holes made in it by the pistol bullets. Every part of the cloaths which his majesty wore on that night are carefully preserved. It is no less wonderful, that when the assassins had seized on the king, they should carry him through such a number of streets without being stopped. A Russian centinel did hail them; but, as they answered in Russian, he allowed them to pass, imagining them to be a patrol of his nation. This happened at some distance from the place where they had carried off the king. The night was besides exceedingly dark, and Warsaw has no lamps. All these circumstances contribute to account for this extraordinary event."

on foot, and that he had already almost lost his respiration from the violence with which they had dragged him, they set him on horseback and then redoubled their speed for fear of being overtaken. When they came to the ditch which surrounds Warsaw, they obliged him to leap his horse over. In the attempt the horse fell twice, and at the second fall broke its leg. They then mounted his majesty upon another, all covered as he was with dirt.

"The conspirators had no sooner crossed the ditch, than they began to rifle the king, tearing off the Order* of the Black Eagle of Prussia which he wore round his neck, and the diamond cross hanging to it. He requested them to leave his handkerchief, which they consented to: his tablets escaped their rapacity. A great number of the assassins retired after having thus plundered him, probably with intent to notify to their respective leaders the success of their enterprise, and the king's arrival as a prisoner. Only seven remained with him, of whom Kosiński was the chief. The night was exceedingly dark; they were absolutely ignorant of the way; and, as the horses could not keep their legs, they obliged his majesty to follow them on foot, with only one shoe, the other being lost in the dirt.

"They continued to wander through the open meadows, without following any certain path, and without getting to any distance from Warsaw. They again mounted the king on horseback, two

* "It was Lukawski, one of the three chiefs of the band, who tore off the ribbon of the Black Eagle, which his Prussian majesty had conferred on the king when he was Count Poniatowski. One of his motives for doing this was, by shewing the Order of the Black Eagle to Pulaski and the confederates, to prove to them incontrovertibly that the king was in their hands, and on his way. Lukawski was afterwards executed."

of them holding him on each side by the hand, and a third leading his horse by the bridle. In this manner they were proceeding, when his majesty finding they had taken the road which led to a village called Burakow, warned them not to enter it, because there were some Russians stationed in that place who might probably attempt to rescue him *. Finding himself, however, incapable of accompanying the assassins in the painful posture in which they held him kept down on the saddle, he requested them, since they were determined to oblige him to proceed, at least to give him another horse and a boot†. This request they complied with; and continuing their progress through almost impassable lands, without any road, and ignorant of their way, they at length found themselves in the wood of Bielany, only a league distant from Warsaw. From the time they had passed the ditch they repeatedly demanded of Kosiński, their chief, if it was not yet time to put the king to death; and these demands were reiterated

* "This intimation, which the king gave to his assassins, may at first sight appear extraordinary and unaccountable, but was really dictated by the greatest address and judgment. He apprehended with reason, that, on the sight of a Russian guard, they would instantly put him to death with their sabres, and fly; whereas by informing them of the danger they incurred, he in some measure gained their confidence: in effect, this behaviour of the king seemed to soften them a little, and made them believe he did not mean to escape from them."

† "The king in his speech to the diet on the trial of the conspirators, interceded strongly for Kosiński, or John Kutsuma, to whom he gratefully expresses himself indebted for these favours in the following words:

"As I was in the hands of the assassins, I heard them repeatedly ask John Kutsuma, if they should not assassinate me, but he always prevented them. He was the first who persuaded them to behave to me with greater gentleness, and obliged them to confer upon me some services which I then greatly wanted; namely, one to give me a cap, and a second a boot, which at that time were no trifling presents: for the cold air greatly affected the wound in my head; and my foot, which was covered with blood, gave me insupportable torture, which continued every moment increasing."

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in proportion to the obstacles and difficulties they encountered.

“ Meanwhile the confusion and consternation increased at Warsaw. The guards were afraid to pursue the conspirators, lest terror of being overtaken should prompt them in the darkness to massacre the king; and on the other hand, by not pursuing they might give them time to escape with their prize beyond the possibility of assistance. Several of the first nobility at length mounted on horseback, and, following the track of the assassins, arrived at the place where his majesty had passed the ditch. There they found his *pelisse*, which he had lost in the precipitation with which he was hurried away: it was bloody, and pierced with holes made by the balls or sabres. This convinced them that he was no more.

“ The king was still in the hands of the seven remaining assassins, who advanced with him into the wood of Bielany, when they were suddenly alarmed by a Russian patrol or detachment. Instantly holding council, four of them disappeared, leaving him with the other three, who compelled him to walk on. Scarce a quarter of an hour after, a second Russian guard challenged them anew. Two of the assassins then fled, and the king remained alone with Kosinski the chief, both on foot. His majesty, exhausted with all the fatigue which he had undergone, implored his conductor to stop, and suffer him to take a moment's repose. Kosinski refused it, menacing him with his naked sabre; and at the same time informed him, that beyond the wood they should find a carriage. They continued their walk, till they came to the door of the convent of Bielany. Kosinski appeared lost in thought, and so much agitated by his reflections, that the king perceiving his disorder,

order, and observing that he wandered without knowing the road, said to him, "I see you are at a loss which way to proceed. Let me enter the convent of Bielany, and do you provide for your own safety." "No," replied Kosinski, "I have sworn.*"

"They proceeded till they came to Mariemont, a small palace belonging to the house of Saxony, not above half a league from Warsaw: here Kosinski betrayed some satisfaction at finding where he was, and the king still demanding an instant's repose, he consented at length. They sat down together on the ground, and the king employed these moments in endeavouring to soften his conductor, and induce him to favour or permit his escape. His majesty represented the atrocity of the crime he had committed in attempting to murder his sovereign, and the invalidity of an oath taken to perpetrate so heinous an action: Kosinski lent attention to this discourse, and began to betray some marks of remorse. "But," said he, "if I should consent and reconduct you to Warsaw, what will be the consequence?—" "I shall be taken and executed!"

* Kosinski afterwards confessed, that he was sent by Pulaski, with the other conspirators, to take the king alive or dead: and that he engaged them to the execution of their design by the following oath, before the miraculous image of the Holy Virgin:

"We, being excited by a holy and religious zeal, have taken a firm and unshaken resolution to revenge the cause of the divinity, religion, and our country, which has been injured by the tyrant Stanislaus Augustus, despiser of laws divine and human, usurper of the throne of Poland, promoter of atheists and heretics, traitor to his country, oppressor of the nation, and a vile instrument of foreign ambition and injustice, do swear and promise, before the sacred and miraculous image of the mother of God, to sacrifice our fortunes, lives, and families, in order to extirpate from the earth one who dishonours it, by trampling under foot the respect due to the divinity, religion, and the privileges of the nation. So help us God.

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" This reflection plunged him into new uncertainty and embarrassment. " I give you my word," answered his majesty, " that you shall suffer no harm ; but if you doubt my promise, escape while there is yet time, I can find my way to some place of security ; and I will certainly direct your pursuers to take the contrary road to that which you have chosen." Kosinski could not any longer contain himself, but, throwing himself at the king's feet, implored forgiveness for the crime he had committed ; and swore to protect him against every enemy, relying totally on his generosity for pardon and preservation. His majesty reiterated to him his assurances of safety. Judging, however, that it was prudent to gain some asylum without delay, and recollecting that there was a mill at some considerable distance, he immediately made towards it. Kosinski knocked, but in vain ; no answer was given ; he then broke a pane of glass in the window, and entreated for shelter to a nobleman who had been plundered by robbers. The miller refused, supposing them to be banditti, and continued for more than half an hour to persist in his denial. At length the king approached, and speaking through the broken pane, endeavoured to persuade him to admit them under his roof ; adding, " if we were robbers, as you suppose, it would be very easy for us to break the whole window, instead of one pane of glass." This argument prevailed. They at length opened the door, and admitted his majesty. He immediately wrote a note to general Coccei, colonel of the foot-guards. It was literally as follows : "*Par un espece de miracle je suis sauvé des mains des assassins. Je suis ici au petit moulin de Mariemont. Venez au plutôt me tirer d'ici.*"

"*Je suis blessé, mais pas fort* *." It was with the greatest difficulty, however, that the king could persuade any one to carry this note to Warsaw, as the people of the mill, imagining that he was a nobleman who had just been plundered by robbers, were afraid of falling in with the troop. Kosinski then offered to restore every thing he had taken; but his majesty left him all, except the blue ribbon of the White Eagle.

"When the messenger arrived with the note, the astonishment and joy was incredible. Coccei instantly rode to the mill, followed by a detachment of the guards. He met Kosinski at the door with his sabre drawn, who admitted him as soon as he knew him. The king had sunk into a sleep caused by his fatigue, and was stretched on the ground, covered with the miller's cloak. Coccei immediately threw himself at his majesty's feet, calling him his sovereign, and kissing his hand. It is not easy to paint or describe the astonishment of the miller and his family, who instantly imitated Coccei's example, by throwing themselves on their knees †. The king returned to Warsaw in general Coccei's carriage, and reached the palace about five in the morning. His wound was found not to be dangerous; and he soon recovered the bruises and injuries which he had suffered during this memorable night.

"So extraordinary an escape is scarce to be paral-

* "By a kind of miracle I am escaped from the hands of assassins. I am now at the mill of Mariemont. Come as soon as possible, and take me from hence. I am wounded, but not dangerously."

† "I have been at this mill, rendered memorable by so singular an event. It is a wretched Polish hovel, at a distance from any house. The king has rewarded the miller to the extent of his wishes, in building him a mill upon the Vistula, and allowing him a small pension."

leled in history, and affords ample matter of wonder and surprise. Scarce could the nobility or people at Warsaw credit the evidence of their senses when they saw him return. Certainly neither the escape of the king of France from Damien, or of the king of Portugal from the conspiracy of the duke d'Aveiro, were equally amazing or improbable as that of the king of Poland. I have related it very minutely, and from authorities the highest and most incontestable.

“ It is natural to inquire what is become of Kofinski, the man who saved his majesty's life, and the other conspirators. He was born in the palatinate of Cracow, and of mean extraction : having assumed the name of Kofinski*, which is that of a noble family, to give himself credit. He had been created an officer in the troops of the confederates under Pulaski. It would seem as if Kofinski began to entertain the idea of preserving the king's life from the time when Lukawski and Strawenski abandoned him ; yet he had great struggles with himself before he could resolve on this conduct, after the solemn engagements into which he had entered. Even after he had conducted the king back to Warsaw, he expressed more than once his doubts of the propriety of what he had done, and some remorse for having deceived his employers.

“ Lukawski and Strawenski were both taken, and several of the other assassins. At his majesty's peculiar request and entreaty, the diet remitted the capital punishment of the inferior conspirators, and condemned them to work for life on the fortifications of Kaminiac, where they now

* “ His real name was John Kutsuma,”

are. By his intercession likewise with the diet, the horrible punishment and various modes of torture, which the laws of Poland decree and inflict on regicides, were mitigated; and both Lukawski and Strawenski were only simply beheaded. Kosinski was detained under a very strict confinement, and obliged to give evidence against his two companions. A person of distinction, who saw them both die, has assured me that nothing could be more noble and manly than all Lukawski's conduct previous to his death. When he was carried to the place of execution, although his body was almost extenuated by the severity of his confinement, diet, and treatment, his spirit unsubdued raised him above the terrors of an infamous and public execution. He had not been permitted to shave his beard while in prison, and his dress was squalid to the greatest degree; yet none of these humiliations could depress his mind. With a grandeur of soul worthy of a better cause, but which it was impossible not to admire, he refused to see or embrace the traitor Kosinski. When conducted to the scene of execution, which was about a mile from Warsaw, he betrayed no emotions of terror or unmanly fear. He made a short harangue to the multitude assembled upon the occasion, in which he by no means expressed any sorrow for his past conduct, or contrition for his attempt on the king, which he probably regarded as meritorious and patriotic. His head was severed from his body.

“ Strawenski was beheaded at the same time, but he neither harangued the people, nor shewed any signs of contrition. Pulaski, who commanded one of the many corps of confederate Poles then in arms, and who was the great agent and pro-

moter of the assassination, is still alive *, though an outlaw and an exile. He is said, even by the Russians, his enemies, to possess military talents of a very superior nature; nor were they ever able to take him prisoner during the civil war.

"To return to Kofinski, the man who saved the king's life. About a week after Lukawski and Strawenski's execution, he was sent by his majesty out of Poland. He now resides at Semigallia, in the papal territories, where he enjoys an annual pension from the king."

To the foregoing account by Mr. Wraxall, Mr. Coxe furnishes us with a very interesting sequel.

"Upon general Coccei's arrival at the mill (says Mr. Coxe) the first question which his majesty asked was, whether any of his attendants had suffered from the assassins; and, upon being informed that one of the heyducs was killed upon the spot, and another dangerously wounded, his mind, naturally feeling, now rendered more susceptible by his late danger, was greatly affected; and his joy at his own escape was considerably diminished.

"Upon his return to Warsaw, the streets through which he passed were illuminated with torches, and crowded by an immense concourse of people, who followed him to the palace, crying out incessantly, "The king is alive." Upon his entering the palace, the doors were flung open, and persons of all ranks were admitted to approach his person, and to felicitate him upon his escape. The scene, as I have been informed

* After the conclusion of these troubles, Pulaski escaped from Poland, and repaired to America: he distinguished himself in the American service, and was killed in the attempt to force the British lines at the siege of Savannah in 1779.—Mr. COXE.

by several of the nobility who were present, was affecting beyond description. Every one struggled to get near him to kiss his hand, or even to touch his cloaths: all were so transported with joy, that they even loaded Kosinski with caresses, and called him the saviour of their king. His majesty was so affected with these signs of zeal and affection, that he expressed, in the most feeling manner, his strong sense of these proofs of their attachment, and declared it was the happiest hour of his whole life. In this moment of rapture, he forgot the dangers he had avoided and the wounds he had received: and as every one seemed anxious to learn the circumstances of his escape, he would not suffer his wounds to be inspected and dressed before he had himself satisfied their impatience, by relating the difficulties and dangers he had undergone. During the recital, a person unacquainted with the language might have discovered the various events of the story from the changes of expression in the countenances of the by-standers, which displayed the most sudden alterations from terror to compassion, from compassion to astonishment, and from astonishment to rapture; while the universal silence was only broken by sighs and tears of joy.

“ The king having finished the account, again repeated his assurances of gratitude and affection for the unfeigned proofs they had given of their loyalty; and dismissed them, by adding, that he hoped he had been thus miraculously preserved by Divine Providence for no other purpose than to pursue with additional zeal the good of his country, which had ever been the great object of his attention.

“ Being now left alone, his majesty permitted the surgeons to examine the wound in his head. Upon cutting away the skin, it appeared that the bone was hurt, but not dangerously: from the quantity of clotted blood, the operation of dressing was tedious and painful, and was submitted to by the king with great patience and magnanimity. The surgeons proposed at first to bleed him in the foot; but they laid aside this intention, upon finding both his feet swollen considerably, and covered with blisters and bruises.

“ The family of the heyduc, who had saved the king's life by the loss of his own, was amply provided for: his body was buried with great pomp; and his majesty erected an handsome monument to his memory, with an elegant inscription expressive of the man's fidelity and of his own gratitude.”

The English translation of this inscription is as follows:

“ Here lies George Henry Butzau; who, on
 “ the 3d of November 1771, opposing his own
 “ breast to shield Stanislaus Augustus from the
 “ weapons of nefarious parricides, was pierced
 “ with repeated wounds, and gloriously expired.
 “ The king, lamenting the death of a faithful
 “ subject, erected this monument, as a tribute
 “ to him, and an example to others.”

Thus far Mr. Coxe. The foreign Gazettes of the time have recorded, that as soon as the king was sufficiently recovered, he wrote an account of his danger and miraculous escape to the empress of Russia and to the king of Prussia. The answer of the latter was as follows:

“ Sir

“ Sir and Brother,

“ Your majesty has caused me to feel the effects of my true sensibility, by believing that I should be touched to the quick at the danger you were exposed to on the 3d of November, by the horrid attempt against your person and life. I heard the news of it with the greatest emotion. A plot so deserving of punishment, in regard to its atrociousness, and so seditious, by the unheard-of circumstances that accompanied the execution of it, will for ever cover with shame the author of it, as well as his accomplices. This is an affair in which all sovereigns are concerned; and that stroke, as base as inhuman, on the part of the confederates, deserves that all the powers of Europe should unite in taking a signal vengeance for the enormous deed they have rendered themselves guilty of. The only comfort and satisfaction we have is, that your majesty's life is out of danger, and that you will soon be well. I am glad to have it in my power to congratulate you sincerely on your deliverance, and to assure you again, on so important an occasion, of the high esteem and friendship with which I am your good brother.

(Signed)

“ FREDERIC.”

The reader will probably exclaim, with us,
O ! si sic omnia dixisset !

The following year, 1772, it appeared that the same king of Prussia, the Austrian emperor and empress queen, and the empress of Russia, had entered into an alliance to divide and dismember the kingdom of Poland, and the scheme was planned with such profound secrecy, that it

was scarcely suspected before it was carried into execution. Poland had long derived its principal security from its peculiar situation between three great powers, each equally interested to prevent the others from acquiring any increase of strength or addition of territory: the union of these rival potentates was considered as a circumstance nearly impossible; and should such an unexpected union take place, it was thought incredible that the other princes of Europe would passively submit to a material alteration in the balance of power.

Treaties upon treaties, and negotiations upon negotiations, had guaranteed to Poland the possession of her territory; and the very three powers who dismembered her provinces had, at the present king's accession, solemnly renounced all right and title to any part of the Polish dominions*. But treaties and guarantees are in general

* In 1764, the empress of Russia transmitted to the court of Warsaw an act of renunciation, signed with her own hand, and sealed with the seal of the empire; wherein she declares, That she did by no means arrogate either to herself, her heirs and successors, or to her empire, any right or claim to the districts or territories which were actually in possession, or subject to the authority of the kingdom of Poland, or great duchy of Lithuania; but that, on the contrary, her said majesty would guarantee to the said kingdom of Poland and duchy of Lithuania all the immunities, lands, territories, and districts, which the said kingdom and duchy ought by right to possess, or did now actually possess; and would at all times, and for ever, maintain them in the full and free enjoyment thereof, against the attempts of all and every one who should at any time, or on any pretext, endeavour to dispossess them of the same. In the same year did the king of Prussia sign, with his own hand, an act, wherein he declared, That he had no claims, formed no pretensions on Poland, or any part thereof: that he renounced all claims on that kingdom, either as king of Prussia, elector of Brandenburg, or duke of Pomerania. In the same instrument he guarantees, in the most solemn manner, the territories and rights of Poland against every power whatever. The empress-queen of Hungary, so late as the month of January 1771, wrote a letter with her own hand to the king of Poland, in which she gave him the strongest

ral only adhered to until they can be broken with safety: the only effectual method for any state to secure its dominions, is to make itself respectable by its strength and unanimity, and to be prepared against any attacks.

The natural strength of Poland, if properly exerted, would have formed a more certain bulwark against the ambition of her neighbours than the faith of treaties, or an attention in the other European nations to the balance of power. And it is extremely worthy of remark, that of the three partitioning powers, Prussia * was formerly

strongest assurances, That her friendship for him and the republic was firm and unalterable: that the motion of her troops ought not to alarm him; that she had never entertained a thought of seizing any part of his dominions, nor would even suffer any other power to do it.—From which, according to the political creed of princes, we may infer, that to guarantee the rights, liberties, and revenues of a state, means to annihilate those liberties, seize upon those rights, and appropriate those revenues to their own use. Such is the faith of princes, the instability of human politics, and of human affairs!

* In the 13th century, all Prussia belonged to the knights of the Teutonic order. In 1454, that part, since denominated Polish or Western Prussia, revolted to Casimir IV. and was afterwards incorporated into the dominions of the republic; at the same time, the knights were constrained to hold the remaining part, called Eastern Prussia, as a fief of the crown of Poland. In 1525, Eastern Prussia was erected into an hereditary duchy, and given to Albert of Brandenburg, as a Polish fief. Upon his death, it fell to his son Albert Frederick, who being impaired in his faculties, the administration was vested first in Joachim Frederick elector of Brandenburg, and afterwards in Joachim's son John Sigismund, who had married Albert's daughter. Upon the demise of Albert without male heirs, John Sigismund, who succeeded to the duchy of Prussia, did homage for that duchy as a vassal of the republic. His grandson, Frederick William, the great Elector, was the first duke of Prussia released from this badge of feudal dependence by John Casimir; Eastern Prussia being declared a sovereign, independent, and hereditary duchy. Frederick, son of Frederick William the Great, assumed the title of King of Prussia, which, however, the Poles never acknowledged until 1764, at the accession of Stanislaus Augustus.

in a state of vassalage to the republic; Russia* once saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; and Austria, scarce a century ago, was indebted to a sovereign† of this country for the preservation of its metropolis, and almost for its very existence.

A kingdom, so lately the master or protector of its neighbours, would never have been so readily overwhelmed by them, had there not been the most glaring imperfections in its government. Poland, in truth, formerly more powerful than any of the surrounding states, has, from the defects of its constitution, declined in the midst of general improvements; and, after giving law to the north, is become an easy prey to every invader.

The partition of Poland was first projected by the king of Prussia. Polish or Western Prussia had long been an object of his ambition: exclusive of its fertility, commerce, and population, its local situation rendered it highly valuable to that monarch; it lay between his German dominions and Eastern Prussia, and while possessed by the Poles, cut off, at their will, all communication between them. During the course of the last general war, he had experienced the most fatal effects from this disjointed state of his territories. By the acquisition of Western Prussia, his dominions would be rendered compact, and his troops in time of war be able to march from Berlin to Königsburgh without interruption. The period was now arrived, when the

* Under Sigismund III. whose troops got possession of Moscow, and whose son Ladislaus was chosen great duke of Muscovy by a party of the Russian nobles.

† John Sobieski, who compelled the Turks to raise the siege of Vienna, and delivered the house of Austria from the greatest dangers it ever experienced. [See p. 189 & seq.]

situation of Poland seemed to promise the attainment of this favourite object. He pursued it, however, with all the caution of an able politician. On the commencement of the troubles, he shewed no eagerness to interfere in the affairs of this country; and although he had concurred with the empress of Russia in raising Stanislaus Augustus to the throne of Poland, yet he declined taking any active part in his favour against the confederates. Afterwards, in 1769, when the whole kingdom became convulsed throughout with civil commotions, and desolated likewise by the plague, he, under pretence of forming lines to prevent the spreading of the infection, advanced his troops into Polish Prussia, and occupied that whole district.

Though now completely master of the country, and by no means apprehensive of any formidable resistance from the disunited and distracted Poles, yet, as he was well aware that the security of his new acquisition depended upon the acquiescence of Russia and Austria, he planned the partition of Poland. He communicated the project to the emperor, either during their interview at Nieß in Silesia, in 1769, or in that of the following year, at Neustadt; from whom the overture met with a ready concurrence. Joseph, who had before secretly encouraged the confederates, and even commenced a negotiation with the Porte against Russia, now suddenly altered his measures, and increased his army towards the Polish frontiers. The plague presenting to him, as well as to the king of Prussia, a specious motive for stationing troops in the dominions of the republic, he gradually extended his lines, and in 1772 occupied the whole territory which he has since dismembered. But,
notwith-

notwithstanding this change in his sentiments, his real views upon Poland were at first so effectually concealed, that the Polish rebels conceived that the Austrian army was advancing to act in their favour; not supposing it possible that the rival courts of Vienna and Berlin could act in concert.

Nothing more remained toward completing the partition than the accession of the empress of Russia. That great princess was too discerning a politician not to regard with a jealous eye the introduction of foreign powers into Poland. Possessing an uncontrouled ascendancy over the whole country, she could propose no material advantage from the formal acquisition of a part; and must purchase a moderate addition to her territory by a considerable surrender of authority. The king of Prussia, well acquainted with the true interests of Russia in regard to Poland, and with the capacity of the empress to discern those interests, forbore (it is said) opening any negotiation on the subject of the partition, until she was involved in a Turkish war. At that crisis he dispatched his brother prince Henry to Petersburg, who suggested to the empress that the house of Austria was forming an alliance with the Porte, which, if it took place, would create a most formidable combination against her; that, nevertheless, the friendship of that house was to be purchased by acceding to the partition; that upon this condition the emperor was willing to renounce his connection with the Grand Signior, and would suffer the Russians to prosecute the war without interruption. Catharine, anxious to push her conquests against the Turks, and dreading the interposition of the emperor in that quarter; perceiving likewise, from the intimate
union

union between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that it would not be in her power, at the present juncture, to prevent the intended partition, closed with the proposal, and selected no inconsiderable portion of the Polish territories for herself. The treaty was signed at Petersburg in the beginning of February 1772, by the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian plenipotentiaries *.

As the troops of the three courts were already in possession of the greatest part of Poland, the confederates, hemmed in on all sides, were soon

* The oath which the Russians required the inhabitants of their division of Poland to take was as follows:

"I do swear to Almighty God, upon the Holy Evangelists, and I promise by the present oath an inviolable fidelity, and perfect obedience, to her Imperial Majesty the Empress Catharine Alexiowna, Autocratrix of all the Russias, and to her beloved son the Grand Duke Paul Petrowitz, presumptive heir of all the Russias. I promise to be always ready to sacrifice my life, and to shed the last drop of my blood for their service. I kiss the Holy Scriptures, and the Cross of my Saviour, to render my oath sacred and inviolable."

The Sieur Kicki, starost of Lemberg, was removed from his post for refusing to take this oath of fidelity to the empress-queen: and the king of Poland, to whom he wrote to inform his majesty of the event, sent him the following answer:

"I could not read without emotion your letter of the 21st inst. in which you inform me that a foreign power had ordered you to pay it homage, and that upon your refusal it deprived you of the starosty of Lemberg, with the revenues arising from it. I am most sensibly affected to see that a Poland, who had risen to a considerable post, should be obliged to quit it, because he would not betray his country in the name of the Supreme Being. My concern is, however, mixed with a particular satisfaction, when I consider that it is you, my old friend, who has given such an admirable example of virtue, constancy, and disinterestedness. The Poles, our contemporaries, and their posterity, will find in your conduct a model for their actions, and need not have recourse to the histories of ancient republics for acts of heroism, as incitements to virtue. I set the higher value upon your behaviour, because it was not in consequence of an order issued from the throne, but the effect of your own understanding and conscience. The honour you have acquired, and which all ages allow to virtue, is the first recompence you deserve; my gratitude and esteem have another in reserve for you."

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routed and dispersed; and Europe waited in anxious expectation what would be the issue of this unexpected union: yet such was the profound secrecy with which the partitioning powers proceeded, that for some time after the ratification of the treaty, only vague conjectures were entertained even at Warsaw concerning their real intentions; and the late lord Cathcart, the English minister at Petersburg, was able to obtain no authentic information of its signature, until two months after the event*.

* The king of Prussia's conduct in Poland was the most tyrannical that can be conceived. In the year 1771 his troops entered into Great Poland, and during the space of that year he carried off from that province, and its neighbourhood, at a moderate computation, 12,000 families. On the 29th of October, in the same year, he published an edict, commanding every person, under the severest penalties, and even corporal punishment, to take in payment for forage, provisions, corn, horses, &c. the money offered by his troops and commissaries. This money was either silver bearing the impression of Poland, and exactly worth one-third of its nominal value, or ducats struck in imitation of Dutch ducats, seventeen per cent. inferior to the real ducats of Holland. With this base money he bought up corn and forage enough, not only to supply his army for two whole years, but to stock magazines in the country itself, where the inhabitants were forced to come and re-purchase corn for their daily subsistence at an advanced price, and with good money, his commissaries refusing to take the same coin they had paid. At the lowest calculation he gained, by this honest manœuvre, seven millions of dollars. Having stripped the country of money and provisions, his next attempt was to thin it still more of its inhabitants. To people his own dominions, at the expence of Poland, had been his great aim; for this purpose he hit upon a new contribution; every town and village was obliged to furnish a certain number of marriageable girls; the parents to give as a portion, a feather-bed, four pillows, a cow, two hogs, and three ducats in gold. Some were bound hand and foot, and carried off as criminals. His exactions from the abbeys, convents, cathedrals, and nobles, were so heavy, and exceeded, at last, their abilities so much, that the priests abandoned their churches, and the nobles their lands. These exactions continued with unabated rigour, from the year 1771, to the time the treaty of partition was declared, and possession taken of the provinces usurped. From these proceedings it would appear that his Prussian majesty knew of no rights but his own; no pretensions but those of the house of Brandenburg; no other rule of justice but his own pride and ambition.

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The first formal notification of any pretensions to the Polish territory was in the month of September 1772, announced to the king and senate assembled at Warsaw, by the Imperial ambassador; which was soon followed by the memorials of the Russian and Prussian courts, specifying their respective claims. It would be tedious to enter into a detail of the pleas urged by the three powers in favour of their several demands; it would be no less uninteresting to lay before the reader, the answers and remonstrances of the king and senate, as well as the appeals to the other states which had guaranteed the possessions of Poland *. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonstrated against

* The note which the ministry sent the 22d of September 1772, to the foreign Ambassadors at Warsaw, was as follows:

‘ The underwritten ministers of his majesty, and the republic of Poland, having sent the notes of the 28th of May, the 19th of June, and 18th of July, of this year, regarding the enterprises of the neighbouring powers on Poland to _____, cannot help, as they increase, communicating likewise the declarations of the courts of Petersburg and Berlin, sent to the underwritten by their respective ministers.

‘ The king is persuaded that _____ are well acquainted with the ancient and peaceful possession Poland had of the domains which the neighbouring powers have appropriated to themselves, and the treaty of this republic with her neighbours being inviolably observed on her part; it may be remarked in these very declarations, that the true motive for the dismembering of Poland was the force of these powers, and that the consequences to the other courts which might be foreseen, would result from it if they dissembled any longer what was going forward in Poland: That therefore his majesty has ordered the underwritten to communicate the abovementioned declaration to them, and to request them instantly to obtain the good offices of their courts to hinder the dismembering of this kingdom.

‘ Warsaw.

‘ MIODZIEJOWSKI,

‘ Bishop of Posenia, Grand Chancellor of Poland

‘ The PRINCE CZARTORYSKI,

‘ Grand Chancellor of Lithuania.

‘ JEAN DE BORCH,

‘ Chancellor of the kingdom.”

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the usurpations; but remonstrances without assistance could be of no effect. Poland submitted to the dismemberment, not without the most violent struggles; and now, for the first time, felt and lamented the fatal effects of faction and discord.

A diet being demanded by the partitioning powers, in order to ratify the cession of the provinces, the ministry of Warsaw delivered to the ministers of those powers an answer, in which they said; "The principles of condescension, on which the king of Poland and his senate find themselves obliged to regulate their conduct towards the three courts, being sufficiently known by a ministerial note on the 24th of December 1772, given in answer to the uniform declarations of the three courts of the 4th of the same month, and by the facts analagous, which have followed the declarations of these dispositions, the under signed refer to it, confining themselves in the present:

" 1st, To observe to the ministers of the three courts, that the harshness and rigour of their proceedings, aggravated still more by the style of the expressions, and the tone of inculpation and reproach affected in the abovementioned declarations, have justly afflicted the sensibility of the king and the senate, are equally remote from the regard due to the dignity of the king and the republic, and the respect which the circumspect conduct of the king merited on their part.

" 2d, The under-signed are to inform the abovementioned ministers, that the king, with the advice of the senate, after having taken into consideration the serious menaces and imminent dangers which have been announced to him in
case

case of refusal, has yielded to the desire of the three courts, and has appointed in consequence the 19th of April for the epocha of the diet.

“3d and lastly, The under-signed have orders to address to the same ministers the solemn requisitions that the king, with the advice of his senate, makes to the three allied courts, to procure the evacuation of their troops out of the domains of the republic before the holding of the dietines *ante comitiales*, in order that the latter and the diet may proceed with full liberty, and that the sense of the nation may explain itself without constraint or danger.

“ Done at Warsaw, Feb. 19, 1773.

(Signed)

MIODZIEJOWSKI,

Bishop of Posenania, Great Chancellor of the Crown.

MICHAEL PRINCE CZARTORYSKI,
Great Chancellor of Lithuania.

JOHN BORCK,

Chancellor of the Kingdom.”

The diet was then, after some delay, convoked by the king in the following summons: “ Since there are no hopes from any quarter, and any further delays will only tend to draw down the most dreadful calamities upon the remainder of the dominions which are left to the republic; the diet is convened for the 19th of April 1773, according to the will of the three courts: nevertheless, in order to avoid all cause of reproach, the king, with the advice of the senate, again appeals to the guaranties of the treaty of Oliva.”

The diet met at the appointed time; and such was the spirit of the members, that, notwithstanding the deplorable situation of their country, and the threats and bribes of the three powers, the

partition-treaty was not carried through without much difficulty. For some time the majority of the nuntios appeared determined to oppose the dismemberment; and the king firmly persisted in the same resolution. The ambassadors of the three courts enforced their requisitions by the most alarming menaces; and threatened the king with deposition and imprisonment. They also gave out by their emissaries, that in case the diet continued refractory Warsaw should be pillaged. This report was industriously circulated, and made a sensible impression upon the inhabitants. By menaces of this sort, by corrupting the marshal of the diet, who was accompanied with a Russian guard; in a word, by bribes, promises, and threats, the members of the diet were at length prevailed on to ratify the dismemberment. In the senate, however, or upper house, there was a majority of only six; in the lower house, or assembly of the nuntios, of but one single vote in favour of the measure*. An act was then passed to limit the sessions to the term of a few days, and delegates were appointed, with full powers to adjust, in concert with the ambassadors, all the terms of the dismemberment. The commissioners, or delegates, on the breaking up of the diet in May, immediately entered upon their office; and, by the month of September, finally concluded the treaty of partition in conformity to the dictates of the three courts. At this juncture, several nobles were bold enough to issue manifestoes and remonstrances in various parts of the kingdom, against the cession of the provinces, and to reprobate the conduct of the partitioning powers; but such remonstrances

* By 54 against 53.

were totally disregarded, and may be considered only as the last convulsions of an expiring nation.

Of the dismembered countries, the Russian province is the largest *, the Austrian the most populous †, and the Prussian the most commercial ‡. The population of the whole amounts to near 5,000,000 of souls; the first containing 1,600,000, the second 2,500,000, and the third 860,000. Western Prussia was the greatest loss to Poland, as by the dismemberment of that province, the navigation of the Vistula entirely depends upon the king of Prussia: by the loss consequently of this district, a fatal blow was given to the trade of Poland; for his Prussian majesty has laid such heavy duties upon the merchandise

* The province allotted to Russia comprises Polish Livonia; that part of the palatinate of Polotsk which lies to the east of the Duna; the palatinates of Vitepsk, Miecislaw; and two small portions to the north-east and south-east of the palatinate of Minsk: this tract of land (Polish Livonia excepted) is situated in White Russia, and includes at least one third of Lithuania.

The Russian limits of the new province are formed by the Duna, from its mouth to above Vitepsk; from thence by a straight line running directly south to the source of the Drug near Tolitzin; by the Drug to its junction with the Dnieper; and lastly, by the Dnieper to the point where it receives the Sotz. This territory is now divided into the two governments of Polotsk and Mohilof; its population amounts to about 1,600,000 souls; its productions are chiefly grain in large quantities, hemp, flax, and pasture; its forests furnish great abundance of masts, planks, also oak for ship-building, pitch and tar, &c. which are chiefly sent down the Duna to Riga.

† The district claimed by the empress of Germany in her manifesto, is thus described: "All that tract of land lying on the right side of the Vistula from Silesia above Sandomir to the mouth of the San, and from thence by Franepole, Zamoisc, and Rubieslow, to the Bog. From the Bog the limits are carried along the frontiers of Red Russia to Zabras upon the borders of Volhynia and Podolia; and from Zabras in a straight line to the Dnieper, where it receives the rivulet Podhorts, taking in a small slip of Podolia; and lastly, along the boundaries separating Podolia from Moldavia."

‡ Polish or Western Prussia and some districts bordering upon Brandenburg.

passing to Dantzic, as greatly to diminish the commerce of that town, and to transfer a considerable portion of it to Memel and Koningburgh.

Although the limits of Poland were settled by the treaty of partition, yet the Austrians and Prussians continually extended their frontiers: the emperor seized upon Casimir, and even avowed an intention of taking possession of Cracow and Kaminiéc; while Frederick alledged these usurpations as a justification for similar encroachments on his part; urging, that he could not, consistent with his own security, see the emperor increasing his dominions without following his example, and assuming an equivalent.

Catharine was forced for a time to connive at these encroachments; but no sooner was peace established with the Turks, and the rebellion of Pugatcheff crushed, than she immediately turned her whole attention to Poland; and it was owing to her spirited remonstrances, that both Austrians and Prussians relinquished their usurpations, and confined themselves to the limits marked by the treaty of partition.

The partitioning powers, however, did less injury to the republic by dismembering its fairest provinces, than by perpetuating the principles of anarchy and confusion, and establishing on a permanent footing, that exorbitant liberty which is the parent of faction, and has proved the decline of the republic. Under pretence of amending the constitution, they confirmed all its defects, and took effectual precautions to render this unhappy country incapable of emerging from its deplorable state.

The delegates who ratified the treaty of partition, being also empowered by the diet to concert

cert with the three courts any alterations in the constitution which might appear beneficial to the kingdom, continued sitting from May 1773 to March 1775, during which period the convocation of the ordinary diet was postponed until the members of the delegation had agreed to all the innovations proposed by the ambassadors, and until every part of the government was finally arranged. Notwithstanding the wretched condition of Poland, and the resistless power of the three courts, yet the king and the majority of the delegates long withheld their consent to the proposed alterations.

Some idea of their spirit may be formed from the following account of one of the meetings, when the propositions relating to the change of government were first produced in September 1773. Prior to the appearance of the three ambassadors in the assembly, much was said, and with great vehemence, against the projected innovations; many reproaches were thrown out against the authors of that plan, for sacrificing the public advantage to their private ambition, resentment, and interests. At the entrance of the three ambassadors, a profound silence took place for some minutes, until the secretary of the Russian embassy began to read the plan for new-modelling the constitution; upon which a general murmur spread through the whole assembly, increasing, as he proceeded, to such a degree as almost to drown his voice: nor was it without frequent interruptions, that he was permitted to finish its recital. He had scarcely concluded, when the whole body of delegates loudly demanded the treaties of partition and alliance; the ambassadors answering, that many points could not

be adjusted without farther instructions from their respective courts ; it was replied, that in the mean time they might introduce the treaty of commerce, which they were authorised to conclude. At all events, it was urged, the proposal concerning the change of government was premature ; a revolution of such extreme importance demanded the most deliberate examination, and ought not to be hurried through, as if it was a circumstance of no concern to the nation. One of the delegates, who was most violent in his opposition, delivered his sentiments with a freedom which astonished the assembly ; and when the ambassadors, who did not understand the Polish idiom, applied to a Castellan for an explanation of what was said, the latter excused himself, under pretence of not being qualified for the office of interpreter, as having but an imperfect knowledge of the French language. When, at last, one of the palatines, who was of the ambassador's party, acquainted them with the contents of the speech ; the orator ventured to thank him for explaining the purport of his harangue in so able a manner ; while the praises which, in a fine tone of irony, he affected to bestow upon the palatine for his readiness to oblige, as well as for his independent spirit, occasioned much mirth in the assembly. The undisguised approbation given by the greatest part of the members to this orator, convinced the ambassadors that this was no time to obtrude their resolutions upon the delegates : they accordingly broke up the meeting, and postponed the business to a future opportunity. The next session, however, was not more favourable to their wishes, nor did the patriotic zeal of the delegates seem to abate. Their opposition indeed to this measure
conti-

continued so violent, that more than a year elapsed before the ambassadors were able, by the influence of threats, bribery, and promises, to obtain a majority; and before the delegates, terrified or seduced into compliance, formally acceded to the change of government. This important point being obtained, the delegation was dissolved on the 13th of April 1775, and all the articles were confirmed by the general diet.

The following note, delivered by the three ambassadors to the delegates on the 13th of September 1773, will give the best general idea of the changes made in the constitution: "The courts are so interested in the pacification of Poland, that, while the treaties are getting ready to be signed and ratified, the ministers cannot lose any of that valuable time, so necessary for the re-establishment of order, and the tranquillity of this kingdom. We now, therefore, deliver to the delegation a part of those cardinal laws, to the ratification of which our courts will not suffer any contradiction.

I. "The crown of Poland shall be for ever elective, and all order of succession proscribed: any person who shall endeavour to break this law, shall be declared an enemy to his country, and liable to be punished accordingly.

II. "Foreign candidates to the throne, being the frequent cause of troubles and divisions, shall be excluded; and it shall be enacted, that, for the future, no person can be chosen king of Poland, and great duke of Lithuania, excepting a native Pole, of noble* origin, and possessing land within the kingdom. The son, or grandson,

* That is, any gentleman.

of a king of Poland, cannot be elected immediately upon the death of their father or grandfather; nor shall he be eligible, till after an interval of two reigns.

III. "The government of Poland shall be forever free, independent, and of a republican form.

IV. "The true principle of the said government consisting in the strict execution of its laws, and the equilibrium of the three estates, namely, the king, the senate, and the equestrian order; a permanent council shall be established, in which the executive power shall be vested. In this council the equestrian order, hitherto excluded from the administration of affairs in the intervals of the diets, shall be admitted; as shall be more clearly laid down in the future arrangements."

By the first of these arrangements the house of Saxony, and all foreign princes who might be likely to give weight to Poland by their hereditary dominions, were rendered incapable of filling the throne. By the second, the exclusion of a king's son or grandson, excepting after an interval of two reigns, removed the faintest prospect of an hereditary sovereignty; and entailed upon the kingdom all the evils inseparable from that most wretched form of government, an elective monarchy. By the third article, the *liberum veto*, and all the exorbitant privileges of the equestrian order, were confirmed in their utmost latitude; and by the last, the prerogatives of the crown, before too greatly reduced, were still farther diminished.

It may be proper here to mention the fate of the dissidents. Their pretensions were finally settled between the republic and the mediating powers, at the last meeting of the delegates. The
catholic

catholic party opposed in so violent a manner the restoration of their ancient privileges, that, by the consent of the foreign courts, they continued excluded from the diet, the senate, and the permanent council. In return, however, the dissidents enjoy the free exercise of their religion; are permitted to have churches without bells; schools and seminaries of their own; they are capable of sitting in the inferior courts of justice; and in the tribunal appointed to receive appeals in matters of religion, three of their communion are admitted as assessors. In consequence of this toleration, the dissidents have constructed churches in different parts of the kingdom.

A kind of pacification now took place in Poland, which continued with little interruption till the beginning of the year 1788, when a concert between Russia and Austria, prejudicial to the interests of this unhappy kingdom, was betrayed by the following letter, which was delivered by M. de Cachet, chargé des affaires from the emperor at the court of Poland, presented and read to the permanent council at Warsaw, the 16th of January.

“ As the present state of affairs may possibly render necessary, in a short time, a passage to the troops of his imperial majesty through the territory of the republic of Poland, in order to open a communication with those of the empress of Russia which are in the neighbourhood, the undersigned has received orders from his court to acquaint his majesty the king of Poland, and his council, informing them, at the same time, that his royal and imperial master, confiding in the friendship and harmony which reign between the two states, has no doubt but his majesty and his permanent council

council will consent to the passage demanded, especially when they are informed that no violence or insult will be offered to the inhabitants; that they will receive no injury whatever; and that whatever they may furnish to the imperial troops, will be paid for in ready money.

"The undersigned has the honour to request the grand chancellor, as president of the department for foreign affairs, to communicate this requisition to the council permanent without delay, and to require an immediate answer.

(Signed) DE CACHET."

Warsaw,
Jan, 12, 1788.

The answer to this letter stated in substance,

"That the king had not the power to consent to the passage demanded for the imperial troops; that it was a question on which the diet alone could decide;—and as to the conclusion of the note of Monf. de Cachet, he was informed, that Poland could furnish neither corn nor forage; and it was hoped, that the emperor would find another passage."

It is strange to relate that no injurious consequences immediately resulted from this application and refusal; but that on the contrary the emperors and the Prussian monarch seemed to have separately taken an extraordinary interest in the welfare of Poland. The following declaration was in October of the same year delivered to the states of Poland by M. Buckholz, the Prussian minister at Warsaw:

"It was towards the end of August that the Count de Stackelberg, ambassador from Russia, declared officially to the undersigned, that her
majesty

majesty the empress had resolved to make an alliance with the king and the republic of Poland at the next diet; the sole design of which was, for the preservation of Poland entire, and for the defence of the state against the common enemy.

“After the undersigned had informed the king his master thereof, he declared, in consequence of his orders, to the Count de Stackelberg, that although his majesty was strongly sensible of this open intimation, he would not however dissemble, that he could not see any necessity for making such an alliance, in addition to the treaties which were already subsisting on all sides; that if, however, they judged a new alliance necessary to Poland, his majesty at the same time proposed to renew the treaties which have for a long time subsisted between Prussia and Poland, as his majesty did not take a less part in the preservation of this neighbouring state than any other power.

“The undersigned accompanied this answer with many other reasons, which shewed the inutility, and at the same time the dangerous consequences that would result from such an alliance, concluded, according to the double design mentioned, between Russia and Poland.

“The Baron de Keller, minister from the king to Petersburg, was ordered immediately to make to the imperial court the same declaration and representations. However, as the king has learnt with surprise that the plan of this alliance had been already communicated and negotiated in Poland, and as it is possible it may be taken up by the diet, his majesty thinks it a duty to make known his intentions in regard to an object so important, as well for him as for Poland, by the following declaration:

“If

“ If the projected alliance between Russia and Poland has for its first object the conservation of the states of Poland, the king does not see the necessity or utility of it, because the safety of Poland is sufficiently guaranteed by the last treaties. It cannot be supposed that her majesty the empress of Russia, or her ally the emperor of Germany, would infringe theirs. It must then be supposed the king has such a design; and, in consequence, this alliance is directed against him.

“ Thus the king cannot but object and protest solemnly against the said alliance, as tending to break the good harmony established between Prussia and Poland by the most solemn treaties.

“ If, in the second place, this alliance is directed against the common enemy, and if under this qualification is included the Ottoman Porte; the king, out of friendship for the republic of Poland, cannot but represent that the Porte having always religiously observed the peace of Carlowitz, and during the whole course of the present war carefully avoided the states of the republic, there will infallibly result the most dangerous consequences, as well for the states of the republic, as for those of his Prussian majesty which are neighbouring, if Poland contracts alliances that authorise the Porte to see an enemy in Poland. Every loyal and enlightened citizen of Poland will see at once how difficult and impossible it will be to defend his country against an enemy so near, so formidable, and so unruly.

“ The king cannot then be indifferent to the project of an alliance, which menaces not only the greatest danger towards the republic, but to his own states, and which will infallibly extend further the flames of war, already too general.

“The king finds nothing to object against the republic of Poland’s augmenting its army, and putting its forces in a respectable state. But he leaves to the consideration of the good citizens of Poland, if, in each augmentation of the army of Poland, a power is not given to engage the republic in a war which is absolutely foreign to it, and consequently leading to grievous consequences. The king is flattered, that his majesty the king of Poland, and the states of the serene republic assembled in the present diet, will take into mature deliberation all that his majesty now represents, in the way and through motives of the most sincere friendship, and for the true welfare and common interest of the two states, so closely united by the indissoluble ties of a perpetual alliance.

“His majesty also hopes that her majesty the empress of Russia will not refuse her approbation to motives so just, and so conformable to the welfare of the Polish nation; and he expects also with confidence from one part and the other that they desist from the project of an alliance so little necessary, but always so dangerous for Poland. It is in this hope that his majesty invites all the true patriots and good citizens of Poland to unite with him, to prevent, by their union and wise measures, the imminent danger with which their country is menaced: and they may depend that his majesty will grant them the necessary assistance, and the most powerful succours, for maintaining the independence, liberty, and security of Poland.

Given at Warsaw, the 12th of October 1788.

LOUIS DE BUCKHOLZ.”

Anfwer

Answer of the Diet at Warsaw to the King of Prussia's Declaration.

"The undersigned, by the express orders of the King and the confederated States of the diet, have the honour to transmit to M. de Buckholz the following answer :

"The reading of the said declaration of his Prussian majesty, in a full council on the 13th, has impressed the States assembled with a lively sense of the generous manner in which the king has acted as a friend and neighbour, in assuring to Poland the safety of its possessions.

"The project of an alliance between Russia and Poland, not having been proposed either to the permanent council, or to the diet when free, and afterwards confederated, is not therefore an object of the act of Union, which leads the business of the Diet, conformable to the general will of the nation; and the propositions coming from the throne respecting the augmentation of imposts, and the military of the republic, are not in the system of an offensive force, but solely for defending and preserving its possessions and its free government.

"If, in the already-determined proceedings, the States assembled receive a proposition and a project of an alliance, the republic, being held by the same nature of a diet, in so public a step will never veil its proceedings, but act conformable to the independence of its sovereignty, to the rules of prudence, to the sacred principles of public faith, and to the deference due to the friendly sentiments of his majesty the king of Prussia.

"The

"The GENERAL Will, ever right and ever public, forming the spirit of the deliberations of the present diet, the States assembled unanimously seek to fix in the opinion of his Prussian majesty an advantageous idea of their understandings and their patriotism.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS NALZEZ MALACHOWSKY,
Referendary of the Crown, Marshal of the
Diet, and of the Confederation of the
Crown.

(Signed)

CASIMIR PRINCE SAPIEHA,
General of Artillery of Lithuania, Marshal
of the Confederation of the Grand Duchy
of Lithuania."

Warsaw,
October 20, 1788.

These declarations were immediately followed by another from the Russian ambassador, in these words:

"The ambassador extraordinary of her majesty the empress of all the Russias has hitherto observed the most profound silence, and has not made the least representation against any of the resolutions of the Illustrious States assembled, although they have already infringed the constitution agreed on between the three courts in 1776, without, however, offering any direct attack on the act of guarantee of 1775. The orders of the empress having always contained evident proofs of her amicable intentions towards the Polish nation, the undersigned wished never to see himself reduced to the disagreeable necessity

fity of protesting against any attempt to alter the form of government solemnly confirmed by the treaty of the act of guarantee in 1775. Yet, nevertheless, an attempt of this nature being contained in many of the projects, which have a design to establish a permanent diet, and to subvert also all the form of government, the undersigned is under the necessity of declaring, in the name of her Imperial Majesty, that, although it will not be without regret that she withdraws from the king and the illustrious republic the friendship which she has avowed, she will be forced to consider as an infraction of the treaty the least change in the constitution of 1775.

STACKELBERG."

Warsaw,
Nov. 5, 1788.

It was proposed in the diet, after reading the above, to draw out a declaration to send to the Russian ambassador, demanding that all the Russian troops should immediately, without delay, evacuate Poland, and that none should afterwards be permitted to enter there. The following is a copy of the note which the States ordered the marshals of the confederation to present to his excellency count Stackelberg:

"The underwritten, by order of the Serene States assembled, have the honour to remit the present note to his excellency count Stackelberg, ambassador from her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and to beseech her to give a fresh proof of the regard she has always expressed for the welfare of this country, by ordering her troops to evacuate it.

"The said Serene States flatter themselves that her Imperial Majesty will, with her usual goodness,

ness, agree with them, and think that so great an army, however well disciplined it may be, must be burdensome to the country, and that its stay may beside furnish the Ottoman court with a plausible pretext for causing their troops to enter likewise, and even for making this country the theatre of war, which must inevitably be the ruin of it.

"The well-known magnanimity of her Imperial Majesty will make her with pleasure seize this opportunity of proving to the Polish nation, that those who have recourse to her justice are sure to be successful. She will thereby be sure to acquire the gratitude of all the nation, whose sentiments of veneration are already known to her."

The meeting of the 5th was opened by the marshal of the diet for the crown returning his majesty thanks for the fatigues he had borne in the last sessions; and he afterwards proposed settling what powers the commission of war were to have.

The prince Czartoriski demanded of the marshal what answer the Russian ambassador had made to the requisition of the diet for the troops evacuating Poland; as well as on the subject of their being refused winter quarters on its territory. The marshal replied, that he had not yet received any answer.

The note presented to the diet by the Russian ambassador, and the king's speech upon the occasion, created such a sensation in the minds of the public, that soon after the king had put an end to the sessions, which he did with two words, he received a deputation from the members, with the following question—Whether his majesty would adhere to them, or remain united

to the Russian party? in which last case they were resolved to give him up entirely. The king replied—That he would answer this proposal between the 8th and 10th of November, but requested them, at the same time, to reflect well upon what they were about.

By his majesty's answer to a second deputation sent to him, he allayed the ferment that was beginning to agitate the diet. In a conciliatory speech, he gave hopes that, if every one went hand in hand, the king with the nation, and the nation with the king, every thing would have a happy termination.

The affairs of Poland now became a prominent object in the state of Europe, and foreboded a considerable change in the system of northern politics. The inflexibility of his Prussian majesty was declared by a note delivered by his ambassador to the diet at Warsaw, and read at their 20th meeting, of which the following is a copy :

“ The undersigned envoy extraordinary of his Prussian majesty, having sent the king, his master, the answer which his majesty the king of Poland, and the confederated states of the diet, communicated on the 20th of October, in the declaration of the 12th of the same month, he has given him express orders to testify to the illustrious states of the diet of Poland the strong satisfaction which his majesty feels in observing by this answer, that they second his favourable sentiments for maintaining the privileges of the republic, and which also assures him that the project of an alliance between Russia and Poland (which his majesty the king of Poland, and his minister at the court, had made a proposition of) had not been in any manner an act of the
present

present confederated diet, who were solely occupied in the augmentation of the army and revenues of the state.

“ At the same time that the king finds in this answer an agreeable and convincing proof of the wisdom which directs all the resolutions of the present diet, he learns with an equal satisfaction, that the illustrious states, faithful to their constitution, have, by a public sanction, and invested with all constitutional formalities, regulated the command of their military force in such a manner as to assure to the republic its independence, and remove from it the possibility of abuse of power, of despotism, and of all foreign influence, which every other regulation made it susceptible of.

“ His majesty thought himself secure in the known prudence and firmness of the states of the diet, who would never permit any thing to prevent a regulation which does so much honour to their wise foresight; by the consideration of a particular guarantee to the former constitution, as if the republic should not have power to amend the form of its government in the new situation of its circumstances in which it absolutely is at present; a guarantee which is not conformable to the treaty of 1773, on which only the guarantees are founded, and which was signed in the diet of 1775 by one power only, who contradicted it soon after.

“ The king continues firmly resolved to fulfil his promises towards the illustrious republic, of an alliance and general guarantee, especially to secure its independence, without ever intermeddling in its interior affairs, or wishing to trouble the freedom of its deliberations and resolutions,

which on the contrary he will support with all his efforts.

“ His majesty is flattered that the illustrious states of the present diet are convinced of the uprightness and purity of these assurances, and of his friendly sentiments for the republic, without suffering any sinister insinuations to prevail upon them, by those who only seek to propagate a spirit of party under the cloak of patriotism, and who, in reality, have no other design than to take off the republic from the court of Prussia, its most ancient ally.

“ The king, by his declaration of the 12th of October, and by the present, which has been transmitted to the Russian minister at Berlin, could not think of expressing in an equivocal manner his sentiments for the safety and welfare of the republic, from which no consideration whatever shall divert him.

“ His majesty hopes also that the confederated states of the republic will give to this new declaration all the attention and consideration which it merits, from the purest and most sincere sentiments of friendship and good neighbourhood, and from their unequivocal wishes for the prosperity of the republic.

LOUIS DE BUCKHOLZ.”

Warsaw,
Nov. 19, 1788.

After reading the above, the debate grew more violent than ever; but in the end the Prussian party prevailed, and the states, in reply to the king's last declaration, declared, “ That if their past resolutions in deciding for a separate commission of the war department, had met with the good wishes of the king of Prussia, they

hoped their subsequent deliberations on the same subject would insure them in future. It was by such a conduct that the republic wished to assure the king how much they esteemed his good wishes and approbation, as well as to establish the safety of the republic, which, his majesty so kindly said, was superior to other important considerations. The king of Prussia having declared himself ready to fulfil his engagements of alliance and guarantee with the states, the nation accepted it with a reciprocal desire and gratitude. His majesty, in offering such generous and friendly terms, had established for ever that high opinion which the Polish nation entertained of his magnanimity and character."

From this answer, which was dated at Warsaw, Dec. 8, 1788, it appears how dependent the states of Poland were become on the pleasure of the king of Prussia.

The success, indeed, at this time of the Imperial army of Russia and Austria against the Turks made the Poles feel more sensibly than ever the weakness of her government, and foreseeing the danger of her situation, from the conquests of Russia on the one side, and the increasing power of Austria on the other, she wisely threw herself into the arms of Prussia, as the only power capable of affording her protection.

His Prussian majesty, sensible of the value of such an accession of strength thrown into the opposite scale, received the republic with open arms; and endeavoured, by every possible means, to re-animate that once brave people, and to inspire them, not with the love of conquest, but with the pride of self-defence.

When the count de Woyna, envoy from the king and republic of Poland at Vienna, officially

ratified to the Imperial court the alliance concluded between Prussia and Poland, and expressed his hope that the emperor, as a good neighbour, would view the measure in a friendly light; he at the same time observed, that the republic saw with concern that, notwithstanding the tranquillity which reigned in the two respective states, the Imperial court was assembling a very considerable force in Galicia; and that he was instructed to require some explanation on that head.

The answer given some time after by the Prince de Kaunitz was, "that the emperor felt as a friend and good neighbour ought to feel, in hearing of the accomplishment of the wishes of the republic; and that he *most certainly would not be the first to take any step that might disturb or impair the friendship that subsisted between him and the republic*; that with regard to the troops which he was assembling on the frontier of Poland, his majesty had given the most positive orders that they should scrupulously respect the territory of the republic; but that he had, at the same time, given them no less positive orders to cover the frontiers of Galicia, and guard it against any unexpected attack."

The assurance thus given by the wary and venerable Kaunitz, it was thought, might with the greater confidence be relied on, as the emperor was in no condition to encounter with the united force of Prussia and Poland, in addition to the whole force of the Ottoman empire, though supported by her Imperial majesty of Russia, whose finances must likewise have been greatly exhausted by the armies she had been obliged to maintain at an expence never before known,
provi-

provisions of all kinds having been at an enormous price during the greatest part of the war.

Early in the year 1790 a plan was drawn up by the count Potocki, for effecting a reform of the Polish constitution, the most striking feature of which was, that the throne should be elective, but that measures should be taken to prevent the peace of the kingdom, or of Europe, being disturbed by any future election. On the same subject the bishop of Kaminiac presented eight articles, which here follow :

Art. I. Determined the rights of sovereignty, which belonged to the nation, particularly that of electing a king.

Art. II. All landholders should have the right of giving their suffrages in the election of representatives.

Art. III. Fixed the terms of each diet to two years, at the expiration of which they should render an account of their conduct to their constituents.

Art. IV. Required the unanimous vote of the diet in the formation of all fundamental laws, three fourths of the votes for all political laws, two thirds for taxes and imposts, and the simple plurality of votes for all civil and criminal laws.

Art. V. A plurality of three fourths of the votes of the diet, shall be necessary in all questions concerning foreign alliances and treaties of peace.

Art. VI. The preservation of the laws, and the whole power of the executive government, shall rest with the king and his council, the members of which shall be responsible to the diet for their conduct.

Art. VII. The tribunals of the diet shall preserve their jurisdiction, but the limits of it shall be more strictly defined.

Art. VIII. The constitution being established on these principles, it shall be guaranteed that the confederate diet shall no longer exist, and that all laws against the principles of the above articles shall be declared null and void.

These were soon followed by a number of reclamations addressed by the towns, boroughs, and provinces to the diet of Poland, viz.

I. That all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the commons before the diet of union, shall be restored, in their primitive vigour, by the decision of the present diet.

II. That security of person shall be guaranteed, both to all natives of the order of the commons, and to strangers residing with their property and effects in Poland.

III. That the commons shall be free to possess landed property in Poland, in the same manner as they already enjoy this right in Lithuania.

IV. That the order of the nobility shall no longer regard that of the commons with contempt; that a noble shall not derogate from the rights of his birth, when, either to obtain an honest subsistence, or for the sake of being usefully employed, he shall embrace any profession hitherto considered as fit only to be exercised by a commoner; but that these rights shall avail him in all respects as before, and that he may also enjoy the advantages of succeeding to the families of commoners, as they in return may inherit of nobles, when any portion of inheritance shall belong to them by contract of marriage.

Art. V. That the invidious constitutions, which exclude the commons from all ecclesiastical and military

military employments, shall be annulled; and that not only the ancient privileges, in virtue of which the commons were admissible to all ecclesiastical benefices without exception, shall be renewed; but that they shall moreover be capable of rising in civil and military employments.

VI. That all cities shall be not only enfranchised from the *Jurisdinctions des Starosties*, but also from all others, and that the citizens shall be subject only to the jurisdiction of their own magistrates, as the magistrates to the assessorial courts of the king.

VII. That the commons shall be at liberty to communicate their ideas respecting commerce, and the magazines in the cities, to the commissioners of the treasury, and the chambers for foreign affairs; and that what these shall declare just and reasonable shall be made law.

VIII. That not only some cities, but all, each in its respective palatinate, shall have the right of sending deputies to the diet, and of charging them with proper instructions: that the ancient privilege of the cities, which secure to them a certain influence in the government, when they shall be renewed, shall be no more impeached or diminished; but that, on the contrary, they shall be increased, particularly in all respects that may tend to render the form of government still more perfect.

IX. That in all commissions of treasury and palatinates, where objects of commerce, requiring mercantile knowledge, shall present themselves, commoners shall be elected as well as nobles.

X. That supposing the assessorial tribunals to be the supreme courts for the cities, the assessors shall consist of nobles and commons, chosen in equal numbers.

On the 29th of March 1790, a treaty of defence and alliance between Prussia and Poland was sealed, ratified, and exchanged.

As soon as the articles of which it was composed had been agreed to in the diet, and some days before the ratification of them, Stanislaus wrote in the following terms to the king of Prussia :

“ Monsieur my Brother,

“ It is already certainly known to your majesty, that the diet of Poland has unanimously decided to ally our republic to your majesty without delay, and without pretending to regulate beforehand the points of commerce, which are at present in discussion between your majesty and us. The more these points of commerce are essential to us, the more highly will your majesty appreciate the eagerness of a free and generous nation, to unite with you in reposing entirely on the personal equity of the known character of your majesty.

“ With a king such as you, the surest way is to address him directly, by intreating him to weigh, in the balance of his just mind, the claims of a nation who give him all their friendship, while they depend on the clear letter of treaties, and on the sufferance of seventeen years. The idea which the nation has formed of the reigning Frederick William is, that, formed to equal his ancestors in every other sort of glory, there is one which he wishes to render peculiarly his own, by setting his grandeur above this fatal maxim, *That the prosperity of our own state can only be promoted by the misfortunes of our neighbours.*

“ You cannot, Sire, be ignorant of the great difficulties which ought to have opposed, or at least retarded, the resolution which the diet of Poland

land formed on the 15th current; nevertheless, those difficulties yielded to the sentiment, that it was with you, Sire, we had to deal. I told my nation, that I would personally address myself to your majesty; that I would lay before you the rights, complaints, and demands of my nation: and the whole diet, without coming to a vote, said, 'Let us proceed to become the allies of this king, too loyal, doubtless too truly great, to wish to take advantage of the confidence which we shall put in him. He will order, without doubt, his ministers to remedy the just complaints of the Polish nation. He will say, I wish that the Poles should henceforth be free from injustice and vexation. I wish they should be satisfied, because they have declared themselves my friends.'

"If in speaking to my nation, I have presumed my letter would be attended with success; in doing so, I did homage to your virtues. It is with such sentiments that I shall always do myself the honour to subscribe myself,

Sire,

Of your majesty the good Brother and Ally,

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS."

Warsaw, March 17, 1790.

To this his Prussian majesty returned as follows:

"Monficur my Brother,

"The prince Jablonowsky has delivered me a letter which your majesty wrote me, dated 17th March, and which claims my personal interference to put an end to the commercial grievances with which the Polish nation thinks itself oppressed in its intercourse with Prussia. I am flattered by your confidence, and will endeavour
to

to justify it; but I intreat of your majesty and the nation, to observe, likewise, the same justice and impartiality which it demands of me, towards me and my state, and to weigh, in an exact balance, the real circumstances of the important object in question.

“If your majesty wishes to recal every thing which has passed since the cession of Western Prussia, you cannot forget that the charges and inconveniences to which the commerce of the Polish nation upon the Vistula, and towards the Baltic Sea, is perhaps exposed, solely take their origin and their sources from the convention of commerce in 1775 between Prussia and Poland, by which all the merchandise which the Polish nation transports to Dantzick, or exports, have been charged with the same duties of twelve per cent. which already existed from the time of the Polish dominion.

“If abuses have crept into the receiving of these duties by the misconduct of the collectors, it is what the Prussian subjects no less experience in Poland. I have endeavoured to redress them as much as possible, when complaints appeared.”

(The king then enumerates the many instances in which he had favoured the trade of the Polish nation; but with regard to Dantzick, he says) “It cannot be justly demanded, that I should grant the same advantages which my own cities enjoy, to a city which is on all sides surrounded by my dominions without belonging to them, and which does them so much mischief by the contraband practices of its inhabitants and the chicanery of its magistrates.

“I perceive well that the Polish nation suffers in an indirect manner, but it is its own fault, and it ought to remember, that it has not been less ill-treated

treated by the monopoly of the commerce of the Vistula, which the city of Dantzick had usurped from the time of the Polish dominion in prejudice of the other Prussian cities. This vice cannot fail to remain inherent in the commerce which the Poles carry on by the Vistula into Dantzick, *so long as the cities of Dantzick and of Thorn remain separate from my territories*, by which they are completely surrounded, especially the first. It is to remedy this great evil that I have proposed to your majesty, and the illustrious diet, *to make with me a new treaty, by which I shall diminish the duties established at twelve per cent. on the Vistula, to a tax so moderate that the Polish nation shall have no reason to complain; and I have DEMANDED, that in compensation of the great loss which I shall sustain in my finances, they should GIVE UP TO ME THE SOVEREIGNTY OF Dantzick and Thorn, which by their natural situation BELONG to the territory of Western Prussia, and which at the time of the cession of that country was excepted only for particular reasons, and of little importance.*

“I thought I might make these proposals without being taxed with unjust views of ambition, because these two cities are situated in the middle of my dominions, and their sovereignty belongs to the possessor of Western Prussia, and the ally of Poland, to whom they give an accession of force equally necessary to Prussia and Poland. They are of no importance to Poland, and rather render their commerce difficult and troublesome by the conventional duties.”

(The king then mentions the value of revenue he loses by the proposed reduction of duties, viz. 200,000 crowns annually; and proposes to make good any loss which his Polish majesty may sustain by ceding these towns. He expresses his surprise that a proposal so fair and candid should have

have been opposed by the Polish nation; and, having stated his unwillingness to re-consider what has been proposed by Poland, concludes thus :)

“ I thought it necessary to enter into this detail, and lay before your majesty considerations to which, at Warsaw, they do not appear to have given that attention which they merited. I still promise myself that you will examine these considerations with that spirit of equity and penetration which characterise your majesty, and that you will make use of them to enlighten the nation, and to dispel the prejudices which oppose the true interests of both states.

I am,
With sentiments of esteem
And perfect friendship,
Your Majesty's faithful Brother and Ally,

FREDERIC GUILLAUME.”

Berlin,
April 11, 1790.

In August of this year the prince Poninski, grand treasurer of the crown, exhibited a striking example of the instability of fortune, or rather the certain reward of those who build their own aggrandizement upon the ruin of their country. In the famous diet of delegation of which he was marshal, and in the partition of Poland, his conduct had been evidently too friendly to the combined powers. After sixteen years had elapsed, on the 8th of June 1789, a criminal accusation was preferred against him before the Polish diet, by M. Zaleski, nuncio of Troki, for high crimes and misdemeanors, in having at that period betrayed, from views of personal prefer-

preferment, the dearest interests of the state. The commission chosen to try him consisted of 14 senators and ministers of state, and 24 deputies from different towns. To prevent partiality, the ballot was drawn by a child, but it did not appear by the names on the list that they were very favourable to the prisoner, who found means at that time to make his escape. He was, however, retaken, but the affair seemed likely to be suppressed. While the diet of the 10th of August 1790 sat, the charge against Poninski suddenly revived, and many members spoke violently on the subject. The grand treasurer, foreseeing the event, took a second opportunity to escape. Although he had been released on security and promise that he would not go off clandestinely, he left Warsaw privately on Sunday the 29th; but, unhappily for him, he was met on the road by the same captain who had guarded him when he first made his escape, which incident had given very great displeasure. This officer, having found him 15 leagues from Warsaw, carried him back. On the 1st of September he was brought before the tribunal of the diet, by whom he was declared a traitor to his country, decreed to lose his rank, honours, functions, and employments; condemned to be stripped of the order with which he was invested, ordered to leave Warsaw in twenty-four hours, and the country in four weeks; after which time all judges or jurisdictions who should find him within the territories of the republic were to arrest him and punish him with death.

The prince Poninski, who heard the judgment at the bar of the tribunal, again suffered the mortification of assisting at the publication of his disgrace before all the people assembled in
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the Hotel de Ville, where the insignia of the order was torn off, and from whence he was led through the principal streets, accompanied by the common crier, who proclaimed, "It is thus we punish traitors to their country." From principles of humanity, however, the punishment was declared to be personal, and not to affect his wife, children, brother, or any of his family or posterity.

On the 30th of August an act called The Universal was passed in the hall of the diet, in which, for the first time, mention was made of the succession of the elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland. When this project had obtained the consent of the diet, the king expressed himself in these words: "It never entered into my thoughts to bring forward any one as successor to the throne during my life-time, nor will I countenance such a proposal, unless I find it is made with the general concurrence of the nation."—After avowing this principle, a proposal was made on *his* part to the diet, to give public notice for the purpose of convoking the provincial assemblies, in order to afford an opportunity for the citizens to declare their resolution of acquiescing in the nomination of a successor to the throne during the life of the reigning prince. As soon as these assemblies were decreed, many members of the diet, as well as other inhabitants of the provinces, offered their services to the king, and concurred in the above motion, provided that one of his majesty's nephews, and *not* the elector of Saxony, should be nominated to the succession. To these proposals the king's uniform answer was—"You know, gentlemen, that I had no share in the design of nominating my successor during my life; notwithstanding which,
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if the nomination should fall on a prince of my own blood, it would give rise to a strong suspicion that I had been clandestinely the author of the project: moreover, my opinion is, that in choosing a king whose riches, rank, and connections would give a lustre to the choice, added to the virtues and political talents which distinguish the elector of Saxony, a successor would be nominated who would greatly contribute to the dignity, power, and advantage of the republic."

In consequence of this invariable resolution of the king, all the provincial assemblies, except that of Volhinia, demanded the elector of Saxony as successor to the throne; and though this latter assembly was less positive than the others in its declarations, yet every testimony was given of its esteem for the person and qualities of the elector. In the *pacta conventa*, it is stipulated that no successor to the throne shall be named during the life of the reigning king. The first and most important step in opposition to that stipulation was made *not* by his majesty, but by the nation. The additional strength given to the power of the reigning king, by nominating his successor from his own family, had always been considered with just and watchful jealousy by the country. In the present case his majesty discarded his own relations, and received one who was not even personally known to him as his successor from the hands of the nation. The motive which induced the country to this infraction of an ancient law, was a general conviction that every interregnum was the source of a civil and a foreign war; which conviction had operated so strongly on the minds of many, that they extended their cares to future generations, and va-

rious instructions of the provincial assemblies were sent to their representatives to require their support of a decree not confined to the immediate case, but for the establishment of a perpetual hereditary succession. Many writings were addressed to the public, which daily increased in number and energy, expressing the general wish of so desirable a decision. These requisitions were made from the nation to the king, and *not* from the king to the nation. A majority of the members of the diet loudly declared, that the dearest interests, and even the salvation of their country, depended on his majesty's concurrence with the general wish.

In the beginning of 1791 several meetings were held respecting a reform in the constitution of Poland. On the 3d of May a number of patriots, who had preconcerted the great objects which they meant to accomplish in the sitting of the diet that day, assembled in the king's chamber. There, in the presence of the king, they engaged to effectuate the revolution that day; and they pledged themselves to each other, by a solemn engagement, not to separate until they had accomplished their end.

The assembly was opened at the usual hour, The galleries were crowded with spectators, and the house was surrounded with thousands who could not gain admission. Instead of the marshals, the king himself opened the session. He said, in substance, that, notwithstanding all assurances to the contrary, there was an alarming rumour, confirmed by the advices daily received, that the three neighbouring powers would make up and terminate all their jealousies and divisions at the expence of the possessions of the republic; that the only method of assuring to Poland the

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the integrity of its possessions, and of preserving it from the ruin which foreign politics were preparing for it, was, to establish a constitution which should secure its internal independence; that, in this view, there had been prepared a plan of a constitution, founded principally on those of England and the United States of America, but avoiding the faults and errors of both, and adapting it, as much as possible, to the local and particular circumstances of the country. In support of the information relative to the foreign powers, the king communicated to the diet some dispatches received from the ministers of the republic at foreign courts, stating how eager they were to oppose all settlement of the constitution, and that every thing seemed to announce their hostile designs on Poland. The king desired that the plan which he submitted to them might be read, and that they should proceed forthwith to enact it into a law if they approved of it. The plan was accordingly read, and a very long and important debate took place; but all was conducted without force or restraint. One person in the assembly, who seemed to challenge an application of violence to himself, was industriously protected from its effects. On his demanding the right of speaking, many voices were raised to refuse it him; but the king himself insisted on the privilege being granted him, and he was permitted to deliver his sentiments with the most perfect freedom, nor was the smallest insult offered either to him or to those who sided with his opinions. His majesty neither on this day, nor on any other, laid any restraint on the freedom of debate; and though called on by many voices to accept and swear to the new form of government which had been

read in the diet, he was so far from eagerly availing himself of the offer, that, after many hours of discussion, he spoke thus: "There is an obstacle to my acceptance of the proposed plan, which, as far as depends on myself exclusively, I conceive cannot be overcome. I have sworn to maintain and abide by the *pacta conventa*; this oath I have hitherto religiously observed; I demand now, then, if, by the general will of the states in diet assembled, I am freed from the obligation of that article which regulates the succession to the throne?" Upon this a number of members instantly exclaimed—"Yes, we free you from the observance of it, and we likewise bind ourselves not to break up the sitting till the decision has been finally adopted." The king then resumed his speech, and required of the marshal of the diet that he should take the opinion of the members individually, in order that the sense of the nation and the will of the assemblies might be made a matter of general notoriety. The marshal, immediately on this, directed that those members who were for adopting the plan of succession should remain silent, and that those on the contrary who were for rejecting it should signify their determination by their voices, to the end that no doubt might remain to which side the majority inclined.

All the representatives of the provinces of Volhinia and Podolia declared themselves against the new form of constitution. M. Suchorzewski, who had recently distinguished himself as an advocate for the people, and who was justly regarded as the principal author of the movements that brought about the revolution, opposed this plan with great zeal. The patriotism by which he

he was animated arose from the crown's being made hereditary. He advanced, and threw himself at the foot of the throne, supplicating and conjuring his majesty to renounce his ideas of the hereditary succession to the royalty; as it would be the tomb of the liberty of Poland. Others, who were on the same side, alledged the instructions of their provinces, which prevented them from agreeing to make the throne hereditary. They insisted that, at least, the plan should be taken *ad deliberandum*, as every other new law was taken; but a great majority of voices refused to agree to this. "We must pass the whole this day; we will not depart from this place until the whole work is accomplished." The opposition replied—"We will not depart until it is renounced."

The king listened in silence; at length Zabiello, the nuncio of Livonia, intreated him no longer to oppose himself to the wishes of the majority, which exceeded in the proportion of at least ten to one the number of those who constituted the opposition; at the same time, almost all the nuncios, senators, and ministers, quitting their seats, filled the middle of the hall, and, surrounding the throne, demanded, with loud voices, that the king would swear to the observance of the new constitution.

The king then called to him the bishop of Cracow, and took the oath at his hands; and the better to be seen by the assembly, he mounted on the seat, and swore aloud. A great majority of the diet held up their right-hands, followed his example, and swore the same*.

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* The reader must be informed that at the commencement of this diet the king, in conformity to the will of the states, had signed

man that loves his country," exclaimed his majesty, "follow me to the church, and, thanking God, let us repeat the oath at the altar." All the bishops, all the secular senators, with a great number of the nuncios or representatives, accompanied the king to church, and there again they solemnly engaged, before God and their country, to maintain a constitution which, combining liberty with subordination, and subjecting the first citizen as well as the last to the law, secured to all the means of happiness, and gave to each citizen the true enjoyment of his rights. It was by this time seven o'clock in the evening. *Te Deum* was sung, and the new constitution was announced to the people by the discharge of 200 pieces of cannon. There were but between thirty and forty nuncios who did not follow the king to church. The king, with his suite, returned to the assembly-house, and adjourned the diet to the 5th of May, after charging the marshals to give the oath to all the departments. The opposing nuncios, seeing that all resistance was useless, resolved to protest against the new constitution by the publication of a manifesto; after which they retired, without noise, to their respective houses. There was no attempt made to interrupt them, nor was any insult whatever offered to their persons. Cries of joy filled the streets; but this joy was the expression of a pure and calm patriotism. Through the whole day there was not the smallest confusion, nor disorder, nor riot. At eleven o'clock the streets were so perfectly calm, that one could hardly believe

signed an act, by which this free diet had changed itself into a diet of confederation; and in doing this, it had bound itself to decide all questions by a plurality of voices,

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that it had been the epoch of a new order of things.

It is pretended that, on the eve of this memorable day, a certain foreign minister had endeavoured, by the dextrous application of 50,000 ducats, to avert the revolution; but all was foreseen and prevented. The business was executed in every point with as much address as it was framed. On the 4th eighteen nuncios published their manifesto against the proceedings of the day before; and M. Suchorzewski returned the *cordon-bleu* with which his majesty had invested him fifteen days before. On the 3d the post had been stopped, and even foreign ministers submitted to the general order; but on the 4th expresses were sent off in all directions.

In the sitting of the 5th of May the new form of constitution was again proposed. The members present signed it *unanimously*; and they formally passed, sentence by sentence, the articles of which it is composed, and which are as follow:

NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF POLAND,

As established by the Revolution May 3, 1791.

In the name of God, one in the Holy Trinity!

Stanislaus Augustus, by the grace of God, and the will of the nation, king of Poland, &c. &c. together with the Confederate States assembled in double number, to represent the Polish nation.

Convinced, by a long train of experience, of many defects in our government, and willing to profit by the favourable moment which has re-

stored us to ourselves; free from the disgraceful shackles of foreign influence; prizing more than life the external independence and internal liberty of the nation; in order to exert our natural rights with zeal and firmness, we *do solemnly establish the present constitution*, which we declare wholly inviolable in every part, till such period as shall be prescribed by law; when the nation, if it should think fit, may alter by its express will such articles therein as shall be found inadequate.

Art. I. The dominant national religion.—The holy Roman Catholic faith, with all its privileges and immunities, shall be the dominant national religion; but, as the same holy religion commands us to love our neighbours, we therefore owe to all people, of whatever persuasion, peace in matters of faith, and the protection of government; consequently we assure to all persuasions and religions freedom and liberty, according to the laws of the country, and in all dominions of the republic.

Art. II. Nobility, or the equestrian order.—Revering the memory of our ancestors with gratitude, as the first founders of our liberties, it is but just to acknowledge, in a most solemn manner, that all the pre-eminence and prerogatives of liberty granted to this order by Casimir the Great, &c. &c. &c. are by the present act renewed, confirmed, and declared to be inviolable. *We acknowledge the rank of the noble equestrian order in Poland to be equal to all degrees of nobility—all persons of that order to be equal among themselves, not only in the eligibility to all posts of honour, trust, or emolument, but in the enjoyment of all privileges and prerogatives; personal liberty, and security of territorial and moveable property.*

property; nor shall we even suffer the least incroachment on either *by the supreme national power* (on which the present form of government is established), under any pretext whatsoever; consequently, we regard the preservation of personal security and property, as by law ascertained, to be a tie of society, and the very essence of civil liberty, which ought to be considered and respected for ever.

Art. III. Towns and citizens.—The law made by the present diet, intituled, “Our royal free towns within the dominions of the republic,” we mean to consider as a part of the present constitution, and promise to maintain it as a new, additional, true, and effectual support of our common liberties and our mutual defence.

Art. IV. Peasants and villagers.—This agricultural class of people, the most numerous in the nation, consequently forming the most considerable part of its force, we receive under the protection of national law and government; enacting, that whatever liberties, grants, and conventions, between the proprietors and villagers, either individually or collectively, may be entered authentically into in future: such agreements shall import mutual and reciprocal obligations, binding not only the present contracting parties, but even their successors by inheritance or acquisition. Thus having insured to the proprietors every advantage they have a right to from their villagers, and willing to encourage most effectually the population of our country, *we publish and proclaim a perfect and entire liberty to all people*, either who may be newly coming to settle, or those who, having emigrated, would return to their native country: and we declare most solemnly, that any person coming into Poland,

land, from whatever part of the world, or returning from abroad, as soon as he sets his foot on the territory of the republic, becomes free, and at liberty to exercise his industry wherever and in whatever manner he pleases, to settle either in towns or villages, to farm and rent lands and houses, on tenures and contracts, for as long a term as may be agreed on; with liberty to remain, or to remove, after having fulfilled the obligations he may have voluntarily entered into.

Art. V. Form of government.—All power in civil society should be derived from the will of the people, its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the state, the civil liberty, and the good order of society, on an equal scale, and on a lasting foundation. Three distinct powers shall compose the government of the Polish nation, according to the present constitution:

1. *Legislative* power in the states assembled.
2. *Executive* power in the king and the council of inspection. And,
3. *Judicial* power in jurisdictions existing, or to be established.

Art. VI. The diet, or the legislative power.—The diet, or the assembly of states, shall be divided into two houses, the house of nuncios, or deputies, and the house of senate, where the king is to preside. The *former*, being the representative and central point of supreme national authority, shall possess the pre-eminence in the legislature; therefore all bills are to be decided first in this house.

1. *All general laws*, constitutional, civil, criminal, and perpetual taxes; concerning which matters, the king is to issue his propositions by the circular letters sent before the dietines to every

every palatinate and to every district for deliberation, which coming before the house with the opinion expressed in the instructions given to their representatives, shall be taken the first for decision.

2. *Particular laws*: temporal taxes; regulations of the mint; contracting public debts; creating nobles, and other casual recompences; reparation of public expences, both ordinary and extraordinary; concerning war; peace; ratification of treaties, political and commercial; all diplomatic acts and conventions relative to the laws of nations; examining and acquitting different executive departments, and similar subjects arising from the accidental exigences and circumstances of the state; in which the propositions, coming directly from the throne into the house of nuncios, are to have preference in discussion before the private bills.

In regard to the house of *senate*, it is to consist of bishops, palatines, castellans, and ministers, under the presidency of the king, who shall have but one vote, and the casting vote, in case of parity, which he may give either personally or by a message to the house. Its power and duty shall be,

1. *Every general law* that passes formally through the house of nuncios is to be sent immediately to this, which is either accepted, or suspended till farther national deliberation. If accepted, it becomes a law in all its force; if suspended, it shall be resumed at the next diet; and, if it is then agreed to again by the house of nuncios, the senate must submit to it.

2. *Every particular law*, as soon as it has been determined by the house of nuncios, and

sent up to the senate, the votes of both houses shall be jointly computed, and the majority, as described by law, shall be considered as a decree and the will of the nation.

Those senators and ministers who, from their share in executive power, are accountable to the republic, cannot have an active voice in the diet, but may be present in order to give necessary explanations to the states.

These ordinary legislative diets shall have their uninterrupted existence, and be always *ready* to meet; renewable every two years. The length of sessions shall be determined by the law concerning diets. If convened out of ordinary session, upon some urgent occasion, they shall only deliberate on the subject which occasioned such a call, or on circumstances which may arise out of it.

The law concerning the dietines, or primary elections, as established by the present diet, shall be regarded as a most essential foundation of civil liberty.

The majority of votes shall decide every thing, and every where; therefore we abolish and utterly annihilate, all sorts of confederacies, and confederate diets, as ruinous to society.

Willing to prevent, on one hand, violent and frequent changes in the national constitution, yet, considering on the other, the necessity of perfecting it, after experiencing its effects on public prosperity, we determine the period of every twenty-five years for an *extraordinary constitutional diet*, to be held purposely for the revision and such alterations of the constitution as may be found requisite.

Art. VII. The king, or executive power.---
The most perfect government cannot exist without

out an effectual executive power. Experience has taught us that the neglecting this essential part of government has overwhelmed Poland with disasters.

Having, therefore, secured to the free Polish nation the right of enacting laws for themselves, the supreme inspection over the executive power, and the choice of their magistrates, *we intrust to the king and his council the highest power of executing the laws.*

This council shall be called *szraz*, or the council of inspection.

The duty of such *executive power* shall be to watch over the laws, and to see them strictly executed according to their import, even by the means of public force, should it be necessary.

The executive power cannot assume the right of making laws, or of their interpretation. It is expressly forbidden to contract public debts; to alter the repartition of the national income, as fixed by the diet; to declare war; to conclude definitively any treaty, or any diplomatic act: it is only allowed to carry on negotiations with foreign courts and facilitate temporary occurrences, always with reference to the diet.

The crown of Poland we declare to be *elective*, in regard to families, and it is settled so for ever.

Having experienced the fatal effects of *inter-regna*, periodically subverting government, and being desirous of preventing for ever all foreign influence, as well as of insuring to every citizen a perfect tranquillity, we have, from prudent motives, *resolved* to adopt *hereditary succession* to our throne: therefore we enact and declare, that, after the expiration of our life, according to the
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gracious will of the Almighty, the present elector of Saxony shall reign over Poland.

The dynasty of future kings of Poland shall begin in the person of Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, with the right of inheritance to the crown to his male descendants. The eldest son of the reigning king is to succeed his father; and, in case the present elector of Saxony has no male issue, a husband chosen by him (with the consent and approbation of the republic) for his daughter, shall begin the said dynasty. Hence we declare the Princess Mary Augusta Nepomucena, only daughter of the elector of Saxony, to be *infanta* of Poland.

We reserve to the nation, however, the right of electing to the throne any other house or family, after the extinction of the first.

Every king, on his succession to the throne, shall take a solemn oath to God and the nation, to support the present constitution, to fulfil the *pacta conventa*, which will be settled with the present elector of Saxony, as appointed to the crown, and which shall bind him in the same manner as former ones.

The king's person is sacred and inviolable; as no act can proceed immediately from him, he cannot be in any manner responsible to the nation: he is not an absolute monarch, but the father and the head of the people; his revenues, as fixed by the *pacta conventa*, shall be sacredly preserved. All public acts, the acts of magistracies, and the coin of the kingdom, shall bear his name.

The king, who ought to possess every power of doing good, shall have the right of pardoning those that are condemned to death, except the crimes be against the state.

In time of war he shall have the supreme command of the national forces: he may appoint the commanders of the army, however, by the will of the states. It shall be his province to patentee officers in the army, and other dignitaries, consonant to the regulations hereafter to be expressed, to appoint bishops, senators, and ministers, as members of the executive power.

The king's council of inspection is to consist,

1. Of the primate, as the head of the clergy, and the president of the commission of education, or the first bishop *in ordine*.
2. Of five ministers; the minister of police, minister of justice, minister of war, minister of finances, and minister for foreign affairs.
3. Of two secretaries, to keep the protocols.

The hereditary prince coming of age may assist at, but shall have no vote therein.

The marshal of the diet, being chosen for two years, has also a right to sit; for the end only of calling together the diet, always existing, if absolutely necessary, and the king refusing to do it.

The cases demanding such convocation of the diet are the following:

1. In a pressing necessity concerning the law of nations, and particularly in case of a neighbouring war.
2. In case of an internal commotion.
3. In an evident danger of general famine.
4. In the orphan state of the country, or in case of the king's dangerous illness.

All resolutions of the council of inspection are to be examined by the rules above-mentioned.

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The king's opinion, after that of every member in the council has been heard, shall decisively prevail.

Every resolution of this council shall be issued under the king's signature, countersigned by one of the ministers sitting therein.

Should all the members refuse their countersign, the king is obliged to forego his opinion.

Ministers composing this council cannot be employed at the same time in any other department.

If it should happen that two-thirds of secret votes in both houses demand the changing of any person, either in the council, or any executive department, the king is bound to nominate another.

Willing that the council of inspection should be responsible to the nation for their actions, we decree that, when accused of any transgression of positive law, they are answerable with their persons and fortunes.

Such impeachments shall be tried immediately by the comitial tribunal, and receive final judgment.

In order to form a necessary organization of the executive power, we establish hereby separate commissions, connected with the above councils, and subjected to obey its ordinations.

These commissions are---1st. of education---2d. of police---3d. of war---4th. of treasury.

Art. VIII. Judicial power.---As judicial power is incompatible with the legislative, nor can be administered by the king, therefore tribunals and magistratures ought to be established and elected. It ought to have local existence, that every citizen

tizen should know where to seek justice, and every transgressor can discern the hand of national government. We establish, therefore,

1. Primary courts for each palatinate and district, composed of judges chosen at the dietine, which are always to be ready to administer justice. From these courts appeals are allowed to the high tribunals, erected one for each of three provinces, in which the kingdom is divided. Those courts, both primary and final, shall be for the equestrian order, and all proprietors of landed property.

2. We determine separate courts for the free royal towns.

3. Each province shall have a court of referendaries for the trial of causes relating to the peasantry, who are all hereby declared *free*.

4. Courts, curial and assessorial, tribunals for Courland, and relational, are hereby confirmed.

5. Executive commissions shall have judicial power in matters relative to their administration.

6. Besides all these, there shall be one supreme general tribunal for all the classes, called a comitial tribunal or court, composed of persons chosen at the opening of every diet. This tribunal is to try all the persons accused of crimes against the state.

Lastly, we shall appoint a committee for the forming a civil and criminal code of laws, by persons whom the diet shall elect for that purpose.

Art. IX. Regency.---The same council of inspection is to compose the regency, with the queen at their head, or, in her absence, with

the primate of the kingdom. The regency may take place only,

1. During the king's minority.
2. In case of the king's settled alienation of reason.
3. In case of the king's being made a prisoner of war.

Minority is to be considered till eighteen years are completed, and the malady must be declared in the existing diet by the plurality of three-fourths of the votes of both combined houses.

When the king comes of age, or recovers his health, or returns from captivity, the regency shall cease, and shall be accountable to him, and responsible to the nation in their persons and fortunes, for their actions during their office.

Art. X. Education of king's children.—The king's sons, being designed successors to the crown, are the first children of the country. Thence the care of their proper education, without encroaching, however, on the right of their parents, devolves naturally upon the nation.

During the king's life, the king himself, with the council, and a tutor appointed by the states, shall superintend the education of the princes.

In time of a regency, it shall be intrusted with this direction jointly with the above-mentioned tutor.

In both cases this tutor, named by the states, is to make his report before each ordinary diet of the education and progress of the princes.

Art. XI. National force, or the army.—The nation is bound to preserve its possessions against invasion; therefore, all inhabitants are natural defenders of their country and its liberties.

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The army is only an extract of defensive regular force from the general mass of national strength.

The nation owes to the army reward and respect, because of its devoting itself wholly for the defence of the country.

The army owes to the nation to guard the frontiers against enemies, and to maintain public tranquillity within. This national force, therefore, shall be employed for garrisoning fortresses, and assisting the civil power in the execution of the law against those that are refractory.

Declaration of the States assembled.

All laws and statutes, old and new, contrary to the present constitution, or to any part thereof, are hereby abolished; and every paragraph in the foregoing articles to be a competent part of the present constitution, is acknowledged. We recommend to the executive power to see the council of inspection immediately begin its office under the eye of the diet, and continue its duties without the least interruption.

We swear before God and the country to maintain and defend, with all possible human power, the present constitution; and considering this oath as a proof of real love of our country, we command all magistrates and troops here present to take it immediately. The commission of war shall issue orders to the rest of the army quartered in the kingdom, and in the grand duchy of Lithuania, to do the same within one month at farthest from the date of the present law.

We recommend to our bishops to appoint one and the same day of public thanksgiving to God Almighty in all churches over the kingdom; also, we appoint a day, *N. N.* for the solemn celebrating, by us and our posterity, of a commemoration anniversary for the mercies of the Supreme Being shewn to us after so many public calamities.

And that future ages may know and feel that it is by the assistance of the Supreme Disposer of nations we have surmounted the greatest difficulties and obstacles, and effected this happy revolution, we decree, that a church shall be erected and consecrated to Divine Providence, in memory of this event, and at the expence of the states.

Having thus satisfied our general feelings on this event, we turn our attention towards securing the same constitution, by declaring and enacting, that *whoever* shall dare to oppose it, or to disturb the public tranquillity, either by exciting mistrust, or by perverse interpretation of this constitution, and much more, by forming insurrections and confederacies, either openly or secretly, such person or persons are declared to be *enemies and traitors to their country*, and shall be punished with the utmost rigour by the comitial tribunal. For this purpose, we order this tribunal to sit uninterruptedly at Warsaw, proroguing their session from day to day, and to try all persons so accused by any citizen of property, with the assistance of the attornies general of Poland and Lithuania, seizing all indicted persons with the aid of the national troops, which shall be ready to act on the first order from the executive power, as they shall be directed and occasion may require.

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THIS restoration of liberty to the nation filled every mind with inexpressible joy. Even those who on the 3d had resolved to enter into a protest, and publish their manifesto, withdrew their opposition. They declared, "that by their instructions they deemed themselves obligated to it: but that the revolution having been consummated with the apparent applause of nearly the whole nation, fully persuaded of the patriotic intentions of the king, and those who were the chief agents in bringing about this great change; in fine, perceiving, by the form in which the king, the whole senate, and nearly all the chamber of nuncios, had already taken the oath, that it did not extend the royal power beyond its just bounds, but on the contrary guaranteed the full and entire liberty of every individual, by maintaining the sovereignty of the nation assembled in the diet; they would no longer impede or retard by a vain resistance the effect of a revolution, commenced, conducted, and accomplished with so much good fortune; that they should heartily concur therein; that they should congratulate their country on the occasion; and should return their most sincere and unfeigned thanks to those who had contributed to the happy change, especially to the king, who had been the chief author and promoter of it."

The memory of this important event was ordered to be celebrated every year; and a church to be constructed at the expence of the public treasure, with this inscription, "To Divine Providence; in order to eternize the remembrance of a revolution effected almost unanimously, and without the loss of a single drop of blood!"

Oh! had this constitution, dictated by equity, enlightened by understanding, and founded on

the imprescriptible rights of man, been suffered to operate its benign influence unmolested by the ruthless arms of insatiable ambition, the Polish nation might, after having vegetated so long in obscurity, and groaned under the yoke of oppression, have become one of the happiest nations of the universe!

That the king of Prussia professed his satisfaction with the proceedings of this diet is on record in the two following letters:

Extract from a Dispatch from the KING of PRUSSIA to Count GOLTZ, then Chargé des Affaires at Warsaw, officially communicated to the Polish Diet.

"I received your dispatch of the 3d of May 1791, with its accompaniment; and I have learned, by *the last*, the important news, that the diet of Poland has just chosen and proclaimed the elector of Saxony as the eventual successor to the throne of Poland; and that it has assured the succession to his *descendants*; and, in default of these, to the princess his daughter, and such future husband as the elector of Saxony and the states shall fix upon. After the lively interest which I have *always* taken in the happiness of the republic, and the *confirmation* of her *new constitution* (an interest, of which I have *never ceased* to give such convincing proofs as depended *on me*) I perfectly applaud the *decisive* step which the nation has just taken, and which I regard as *infinitely* suited to the *consolidation* of its happiness. The news is the more agreeable to me, as I am attached by bonds of friendship to the VIRTUOUS prince, *destined to form the happiness of Poland*, as is also the house of Saxony to my house, by those of good neighbourhood, and of the most happy union. I am thence persuaded, that the choice

of.

of the republic will confirm *for ever* the happy and close *intelligence* which has subsisted to the *present moment* between the republic and myself; and I charge you to testify, in the *most expressive manner*, my most sincere felicitations to the *king*, to the marshals of the diet, and to *all those* who have contributed to this *great work*."

Letter of the KING of PRUSSIA to the KING of POLAND.

"Sir, my Brother,

"I have received, nearly at the same moment, the two letters, by which your majesty is pleased to make known to me the important resolution just taken, by the confederated diet of Poland, for fixing the hereditary succession of the throne in favour of the *house of Saxony*. No one has certainly a better title to communicate to me the particulars of this event, than general count Potocki, who has acted in it so interesting a part, and who merits, in every respect, the honourable testimony which your majesty bears in his favour.

"The *eagerness* I have shewn to *declare* my sentiments on *this subject* will convince your majesty, and the whole Polish nation, of the interest I take in this measure. I am happy to have been able *to contribute to the support of the liberty and independence of Poland*, and one of my most pleasing cares shall be to maintain and strengthen the ties which unite us. I cannot but in particular applaud the choice made of a prince whose virtues render him so worthy of the throne which awaits him. I hope, however, that moment is still distant, and that your majesty will, for a long series of years, constitute the happiness of your people. These wishes are not less sincere

than is the attachment which I have professed,
and with which I shall ever remain,

Sir, my Brother,

Your Majesty's good Brother,
FREDERICK-WILLIAM."

Berlin, May 23, 1791.

Enemies to the king of Poland have scrutinized his conduct in and after this affair with prejudice, and reprobated it with virulence. A very candid inquiry into it has, however, been made by the anonymous author of "An Authentic Narrative of Facts, relative to the late Dismemberment of Poland," from which we shall beg his permission to extract some passages :

"His majesty did nothing on the 3d of May, but what his duty obliged him to do; and a stronger proof cannot be adduced of the general good being his ultimate object, than his refusing his consent to the aggrandisement of his own family. In this place, the following questions may not be inapposite. First, if, independent of every consideration relative to the succession, the form of government was good in *itself*? Secondly, if it met with the general approbation of the Polish republic? And lastly, if it contained any thing in its frame menacing to the cause of liberty? These questions are fully answered by the warm encomiums that all the nations and all the courts in Europe (one only excepted) bestowed on the new constitution; and as a proof that the Poles themselves saw in it no cause of alarm for their liberties, it received the praise and approbation of all the provincial assemblies in the kingdom, without a single exception; and a majority of these assemblies even bound themselves by oaths
to

to its observance, uninfluenced either by gifts, promises, or solicitations; and all unanimously enjoined their representatives to shew their gratitude in the most solemn manner to the king, by universally conferring on him the title of the Benevolent Father of his Country.

“ If it were our object here, to examine the whole system of this constitution article by article, it would evidently appear, that in the two nations universally allowed to enjoy the freest and most perfect forms of government, I mean the English and the North Americans, the king of England and the officer who without the name discharges the functions of a king in America, both possess an executive power of more force and extent than that which was conferred on the king of Poland by the Constitutional Act of the 3d of May 1791. Nay, more, whoever will take the trouble of comparing the power which the permanent council possessed from the year 1766 to 1788, with those which were entrusted to the council of superintendence of 1791, will observe in how many articles the authority of the former has exceeded that of the latter; and likewise with this additional distinction, that the nation has reserved to *itself* the power of altering or correcting the form of government established in 1791; whereas *that* of 1775 was submitted to the controul and protection of a foreign power under the character of a guarantee. If it should be said, that a king endowed with foresight should have acted from more extended views, and should have reflected, that remote advantages, which were the objects of the new constitution, bade fair to be productive of immediate calamities; his majesty might answer this objection by referring to his harangue of the 6th of October 1788, (as well

as to many subsequent ones) in which he expressed himself as follows : " Let us retain, if possible, the friendship of all our neighbours ; let us pay a due homage to the personal qualities of all the sovereigns, that at this time throw a lustre on the thrones they occupy. Yet it must be allowed, that every nation has an interest to pursue peculiar to its situation and circumstances. I loudly and unequivocally assert, that there is no power whose true interests run less in opposition to ours, than those of Russia. I recal to the remembrance of the nation, that it is to Russia we owe the recovery, at least, of several districts of our country of which other powers had assumed the occupancy. I remind them, that with respect to commercial arrangements, Russia presents the most favourable prospects. And I can say too, that Russia not only makes no opposition to the design, but absolutely applauds our intention of augmenting the army. It will follow then, that so far from giving any cause of provocation to this power, by shewing an ill disposition towards it, the acquisition of its friendship should be among our most desirable objects ; and I am convinced, that when the empress is satisfied of our amicable disposition towards her, we shall be enabled to accomplish our interior ameliorations with more certainty and facility ; and on the contrary, we shall raise obstacles to our views in proportion as we may afford to that magnanimous princess any causes for dissatisfaction."

" If these predictions of the king failed in producing a due effect, and if to that inattention may be ascribed many of the present misfortunes of the country, to whom is the blame imputable ? To whom, but to those who strained every nerve to excite the public as well against the guarantee

as against the laws of 1775, so far as to represent the king as having views hostile to his country, and as being a just object of suspicion and distrust; to those, I repeat, who at that diet, under the affectation of these suspicions, deprived his majesty of many of his prerogatives; and for no other reason, but because he had the foresight to resist their violence; and above all, because he exerted himself to counteract those fallies of anger and discontent, in which they indulged themselves against that very power, under whose protection they now accuse the king on two points, of which they themselves were the most ardent promoters. One man in particular * often and loudly called on the king to undertake an offensive war against Russia, and pledged himself to *bold his majesty's stirrup whenever he should mount his horse to carry that war into execution.* And yet it is under the protection of the hostile armies of Russia, that this same man has returned again to Poland. The speech above quoted, is a sufficient proof that the king considered a connection with Russia as most beneficial to his country. His discourse on the 15th of March 1790 is a clear evidence how little he was inclined to enter into new engagements, and how much he exerted himself to retard the determination of the diet. It is not then to be ascribed to *him*, if the diet on that day unanimously resolved to decree a new alliance; but as his majesty neither could, nor ought to put himself in opposition to the universal will of the assembly, his regard for the laws, and his strict attention to an upright conduct convinced him, that he was bound not to deviate from the line which had been traced out for his

* Suchorzewski,

future course. It is necessary to remark in this place, that the court of Berlin, in testifying its desire for an alliance with Poland, urged, as a preliminary condition, that a new form of government should be established, whose duration and stability might be relied on. The authentic proofs of this intimation, and of the court of Berlin's approving the plan, are too well known to be here insisted on. As soon as the new system took place, the spirit which actuated it, being that of the support of peace, and of restraining itself within its own limits, without harbouring the smallest hostile intention towards any foreign power, called on government to declare in the most solemn and prompt manner to the neighbouring potentates (and particularly to those whose alliances with Poland were of ancient date) the true object of the law of the 3d of May. And if this notification did not take place, the omission with great reason might have been imputed to the king, if he was not justified by the following fact; that identical *ally*, who urged his advice and his services with so much importunity, by constantly repeating, that the emancipation of Poland from foreign dependence was due only to his interposition, that *very ally*, I say, twice prevented the king from carrying this design into execution. "This is not the time," said this *ally*, "to notify your plan to the neighbouring powers; and it was less necessary, as I myself have passed a panegyric on the law of the 3d of May, and have offered my congratulations on it, both to the Polish nation, and to the elector of Saxony; and from the benefits which I have been the means of conveying to the kingdom, I have a right to expect, that my advice should have its proper weight."

“ Impartial judges must determine, how far the king of Poland, under these circumstances, had it in his power to act in direct opposition to the mode of conduct prescribed by this ally at a time when the republic placed implicit confidence in him, intimating at the same time some doubts lest his Polish majesty, from motives of personal inclination and gratitude, should be rather too much biassed in favour of ancient connections. It has been often objected to the king, that by the constitution of the 3d of May, he had in contemplation to annihilate the pre-eminence and splendour of the Polish nobility, and that from this proceeding he had to expect the general resentment of this order; but can there be a more satisfactory answer to this objection than that all the provincial assemblies, (which are uniformly composed of nobility) without one exception, expressed their gratitude to the king for the act? and that this same nobility, in shewing a favourable disposition towards the class of burghers, have signified their conviction that consequences the most beneficial to the state at large, were the natural result of ameliorating the condition of this latter order of society. It is neither to be imputed to the king nor to the diet, that precisely at this time the French Revolutionists acted on principles directly opposite to those attempted to be established in Poland. In the latter country the nobility in reserving to itself the principal rank and in expressly confining to that class the government of the republic, at the same time that many privileges were granted to the burghers, have done nothing more in this, than in some degree lessening the distance and distinction that existed between themselves and the order of the third estate; in France, on the contrary, the third estate
has

has completely overwhelmed the class of nobility. In Poland the Holy Catholic Religion, honoured with every mark of solemnity, and acknowledged as supreme, received a firm establishment by the Act of the 3d of May. Nothing more strongly discriminates the features that characterise the two constitutions, than the different conduct of France on the subject of religion. It is in vain then to pretend to find a resemblance between the systems of the two countries; this resemblance has no existence but in the imaginations of those who have views of their own in making the comparison. It may likewise be observed, that the king's plan in favour of the burghers was far less comprehensive than that unanimously adopted the 18th of April 1791, the author of which was the man who was so prompt to hold the king's stirrup when he should mount his horse to lead the army of the republic against the Russian invaders."

To return from this digression: the kingdom or republic of Poland, lately emancipated from the tyranny of its nobles, found, ere it could enjoy the advantages of a happy change, in its most powerful neighbour, a decided and most inveterate enemy; for on the 18th of May, the Russian resident at Warsaw delivered a hostile declaration to the diet, which was immediately followed by an invasion of the Polish territories:

Declaration of Mr. BULGAKOW, Russian Ambassador at Warsaw.

"The liberty and independence of the illustrious republic of Poland have at all times attracted the attention and concern of all her neighbours.

" Her

“ Her majesty the empress of all the Russias, who, together with this claim still unites the right of her formal and positive engagements with the republic, has endeavoured in a more peculiar manner to watch over the inviolable preservation of these two precious attributes of her political existence.

“ These continual and generous endeavours of her majesty, being the effects of her love for justice and order, as well as her affection and good wishes towards a nation, whom the identity of origin, language, and so many other natural relations with the nation she reigns over, rendered dear to her, did doubtless repress the ambition and avidity of those rulers who, not satisfied with the share of authority assigned to them by the laws of the state, aspired at a greater extent of power at the expence of these very laws.

“ With this intent they have, on one hand, neglected nothing for tiring the active vigilance of the empress over the integrity of the rights and prerogatives of the illustrious Polish nation ; and, on the other hand, for defaming the purity and munificence of her intentions, and placing them on every occasion in the most odious point of view.

“ In this manner they had the perfidious dexterity to cause to be declared, as a cumbersome and humiliating yoke, the act by which Russia guarantees the lawful constitution of this nation ; whereas the greatest realms, and among the rest the German empire, far from rejecting such like guarantces, have considered, sought, and accepted them as the most stable foundation of their property and independence.

“ Events of a recent nature shew better than all proofs, how indispensable and efficacious
such

such a guarantee might be; and that the republic without them, after having been involved by the practices of her internal enemies, to recover her constitution, could have no other claim on the intervention of the empress, than solely her friendship and generosity.

“Meanwhile, those who very long since meditated the degradation and ruin of the ancient liberty of the republic, grew bolder and bolder, when part of the nation proposed all sorts of perverse and erroneous notions, and only waited for a favourable moment to execute their ruinous designs. They thought they would find it in the two wars by which Russia was attacked at once. About this time the diet assembled at Warsaw. The instructions which the legates had received from their waywodsships, fixed the same as a free and ordinary diet. All at once it was transformed into a confederate diet without any known good reasons. The Act of Confederation, which was made public, announced the transactions of the same. Its chief objects were to be, “The maintenance of the free republican government---the maintenance of the magistrates in their functions and actual limits---and the preservation of the property of citizens.”

“It belongs to the people of the Polish nation themselves, to judge from the consequences and result of the transactions of this diet, how far it has abused public confidence by departing from the original objects of its meeting, and adopting others which were entirely opposite to them. Without entering upon an enumeration of all the illegalities and violation of the laws and immunities of the republic, which this confederate diet, or rather the *faction prevailing in it*, presumed to execute, it will suffice to say, that after having
usurped,

usurped, mingled, and concentrated in itself all branches of power, whose union in the hand of one individual is utterly inconsistent with republican principles, has moreover usurped in a most tyrannical manner each branch of this power; it has prolonged its duration for above three years and an half (a duration of which the Polish annals do not offer a single instance), and finally crowned all its ruinous enterprises by totally subverting, on the 3d of May 1791, the edifice of government, under which the republic was happy for so many years.

“ On that day this edifice vanished, and on its ruins arose a monarchy, which in its new laws by which it was thought to limit it, offers nothing but contradictions, incoherency with the old laws, an entire insufficiency in every respect, which leaves not even to the Poles the shade of that liberty and those prerogatives of which they were always so jealous.

“ The elective throne is rendered an hereditary one, and this law, which the wisdom of their ancestors had dictated, and which forbids to meddle during the life-time of the king with the election of his successor, was transgressed in as rash a manner, as were all those that guaranteed the perpetual consistency of the republic.

“ The means made use of for executing these violent actions were well enough calculated to characterise them. On the day of the revolution the palace and the diet-hall were crowded with the Warsaw mob. Armed persons were introduced—cannons were brought from the arsenal, in order to fire on such as might endeavour to prevent the success of the plot. The regiment of artillery and the Lithuanian guards were assembled for supporting the mob. Their fury was ex-

cited against those whose resistance was dreaded. Several legates who persevered in their patriotic sentiments were threatened with death. When the legate of Kalitsch humbly approached the throne to remind the king of his sacred oath concerning the *pacta conventa*, that sacred and indissoluble tie which connects him with the nation, he was trod under foot in an unmerciful manner, in spite of his inviolable character as a representative of the nation, to the shame and disgrace of every Polander who has not lost all sense of honour and liberty. A revolution effectuated in this manner was deemed by its promoters to have been the free wish of the nation.

“Not satisfied with the internal misfortunes they brought upon their unhappy mother country, they also endeavoured by all possible methods to hurt her abroad, by plunging her into discords, which are likely to degenerate into an open war with Prussia, the old ally, the best and most solid friend of the republic, and the Polish nation.

“It required the whole extent of the known generosity of the empress, and especially that justice and penetration by which she knows how to discern the intentions of the spirit of party from the general wish of the nation, to prevent her from sooner resenting the extreme abuses by which she has been continually provoked.

“A brief enumeration of the string of facts belonging to this matter, will set the truth of this assertion in a proper light.

“At the time of the declaration of war, to which Russia was necessitated by the Ottoman Porte, the ambassador of the empress delivered to the ministry of the republic, which had then no diet, a note, apprising them of the instantaneous
marching.

marching of the Russian troops through the Polish states, and proposing to appoint commissioners in the palatinates that were nearest to the quarters of these troops, in order to agree with them concerning the furnishing and payment of the requisite forage.

"All this was regulated and amicably agreed upon with mutual satisfaction, though at that very period animosity and rancour seemed already to manifest themselves. But as soon as the diet was formed, and the long harboured plan of subverting the republic had got the better of all consideration with respect to the preservation of peace within and without the kingdom, it was not only required immediately to withdraw the Russian troops from the Polish territory, without even excepting the small number of those that were to guard the magazines, but also the furnishing them with provisions was rendered difficult by means of several impediments; the establishing of new magazines for their support was opposed, and it was required that even the old magazines should be removed beyond the frontiers of the republic. On the same occasion, the treasury board made the unjust proposal, that on crossing the river Dniester, duties of exports should be collected for these magazines, which were procured at a considerable expence, and greatly to the advantage of the Polish citizens.

"Such a proceeding was, in fact, contrary to the reciprocal equity which two neighbouring, friendly and allied states owe one another.

"The oppressions of all kinds practised upon the subjects of her majesty the empress were carried to such a height, that some of them, whose business retained them on the territory of the republic, and who, fully relying on the sanc-

lity and inviolability of existing treaties, and the law of nations, though carrying their trade on in the quietest manner, were, notwithstanding, most maliciously impeached for having excited the inhabitants of the places to insurrection, and were arrested and thrown into prisons. When the judges who were commissioned to try those people found no traces of the crime they stood impeached for, they had recourse to the torture to extort a confession; and after having in this manner forced it out, these hard-hearted judges condemned them to die, and absolutely had the sentence carried into execution. This first essay of inhumanity, injustice, and cruelty, opened a vast field for inquisitions of all kinds, by which the provinces were chiefly oppressed, whose inhabitants confess the orthodox Greek religion. The bishop of Przejaław and abbot of Sluck, though an imperial subject, fell a victim to this persecution. Notwithstanding his high ecclesiastic dignity, purity of manners, and austerity of principles, he was accused of crimes, which malice, and the eagerness of increasing the once effectuated fermentation, invented upon every occasion; the prelate was arrested and conducted to Warsaw, where he was doomed to lasting imprisonment. Even in the center of the metropolis, and towards the empress's ministers, the law of nations was as little respected; for their chapel, which is considered as a part of the hotel occupied by them (and the Russian arms being suspended, clearly proves to every body that it is a privileged place), was forced by Polish soldiers, who seized upon the minister of the altar, and carried him before an incompetent tribunal. The satisfaction which the minister has demanded on this subject, has been refused upon vague and insignificant

significant pretences. In short, not only the solemn treaties which connected Russia and Poland were violated and transgressed in the most important articles, but the animosity has been carried so far as to send an extraordinary deputation to Turkey, then in open war with Russia, offering to this power an offensive treaty aimed against Russia. A fact, of which the archives of the ministerial correspondence of the cabinet of Warsaw contain the documents and the clearest proofs.

“The respect due to the person and the exalted rank of the empress, was not observed in the speeches held in public sessions in the diet, and this rudeness, instead of being reprimanded as it deserved, was even encouraged and applauded by the chiefs of the party that subverted the laws and constitution of the republic.

“The least of these grievances, without mentioning those which are voluntarily suppressed for the sake of brevity, would already justify, in the face of God and men, the resolution of her majesty to take signal vengeance. Yet it is not with this view that her majesty publishes this declaration of the said grievances. Her innate equity does not suffer her to confound all the Polish nation with one of the parties which has betrayed her majesty's confidence. The empress, on the contrary, is fully convinced, that the greatest number had no share in any of the things attempted against herself and the republic.

“For this very reason she is willing to sacrifice her just resentment to a hope more compatible with her generous and pacific sentiments, of seeing all those grievances remedied by means of a new diet, which shall more strictly adhere to the orders of their superiors, and the immut-

able fundamental laws of the state, than the present existing diet, which has trespassed upon them all in the most manifest manner, and marked all their transactions, in opposition to those laws, with the stamp of their own illegality.

“ But should her majesty refuse to listen to the voice of her own repentment, she cannot be deaf to the voice of claims made to her by a great number of Polanders, among whom are several who are as illustrious by birth and rank in the republic, as they are by their patriotic virtues and ability for serving the state.

“ Animated by a pure and praise-worthy zeal for the welfare of their country, and the recovery of its former liberty and independence, they have united themselves for the purpose of forming *a lawful confederation*, as the only effectual remedy for the misfortunes which the *illegal confederation* and usurpations at Warsaw have caused to the nation.

“ With these sentiments they have claimed the support and assistance of the empress, who did not hesitate to assure them of both, being guided on her part by her friendly and amicable dispositions in favour of the republic, and her desire of strictly fulfilling the obligations of her treaties.

“ In order to fulfil her promise, the empress has ordered part of her troops to *enter the territory of the republic*. They shew themselves there as friends, and *for co-operating in the re-establishment of the rights and prerogatives of the republic*. All such as shall receive them under this title, will, besides a perfect oblivion of what is past, receive every protection and security for their persons and property. Her majesty hopes, that all good Polanders, who truly love their native country, will know how to value the intentions of her imperial

rial majesty, and perceive that it is for their own benefit that they should co-operate, with all their heart and soul, in the generous endeavours which her majesty is to employ in conjunction with all true patriots, for restoring to the republic liberty and laws, of which it has been deprived by the pretended constitution of the 3d of May. If there should be any who harbour any scruple concerning the oath which they have been led to take from error, or which they were compelled to by force and seduction, such may consider that *that* is the only true and sacred oath by which they engaged to maintain and defend the free and republican government under which they were born; and that the renewal of this former oath is the only means of repairing the perjury of which they have been guilty in taking the new oath. Yet if there are any found who, persevering in a perverse way of thinking, should oppose the benevolent intentions of the empress, and the patriotic wishes of their fellow-citizens, they may thank themselves if they meet with the treatment they deserve; the more so, as they had it in their power to secure themselves by a sincere abjuration of their errors.

“ The extraordinary ambassador and minister plenipotentiary has orders to notify these resolutions of her majesty the empress, and also to publish her just motives; he is, moreover, to invite the illustrious Polish nation to place an unlimited confidence in the generosity and disinterestedness which induce her to take this step, and which make her most ardently desire that the republic, by means of a prudent balance of the different powers, which forms the safest means of securing both her internal tranquillity and her good un-

derstanding with her neighbours, should recover the solid basis of its true welfare.

Given at Warsaw, May 7-18, 1792.

(Signed)

D. VON BULGAKOW."

On the 21st the king of Poland laid this declaration before the diet, and as soon as it was read, this truly patriotic prince observed to the deputies, that the design of the empress was evidently to annihilate the diet and overturn the constitution: he pressed the necessity of employing means for the defence of the country; these were two-fold: the first, he said, consisted in the exercise of all that courage and resolution might inspire, and that whatever in this respect the diet should determine, he should not only approve, but encounter every danger to execute: the second, in negotiation. "For this purpose," continued his majesty, "we should apply to our ally the king of Prussia, who, from the beginning of the present diet, has concurred in our deliberations, especially in those which tended to liberate us from the guarantee of Russia, in removing the Russian magazines and troops from our territories, and in our embassy to the Ottoman Porte; but, above all, in our forming a government on whose basis he could build an alliance with us, whereby he solemnly engaged himself to use, first, his own good offices, and, in case of their failing, to assist us effectually with sufficient forces to maintain our independence and possessions*. Both these objects are essentially attacked by the declaration before you, which treats as crimes and transgressions those very acts that passed in

* See the note in p. 412, 413.

perfect understanding with, and with the unanimous concurrence of, the king of Prussia."

In this speech the king of Poland also recommended calling upon the assistance of the king of Hungary and the elector of Saxony, and concludes with exhorting the diet to vigorous preparations for defence, should negotiation fail.

The next day the diet addressed the king with thanks for his paternal and patriotic speech, and, by a decree, invested him with the chief command of the armies of the republic; it was also followed by another, setting forth, that every devastation, damage, or diminution of property, occasioned to individuals by the march or invasion of foreign troops, should be indemnified by a fraternal contribution of the whole nation.

While the king and diet were thus considering how to deprecate or resist the calamities of war, a body of Russian troops penetrated into the territory of the republic, near Mohilow, in Podolia, under the command of general Rochowski; some other corps, at the same time, passed the eastern frontiers at different places. To oppose this formidable invasion, prince Poniatowski, collecting hastily a small body of forces, marched toward the enemy, and on the 24th of May encamped at Tyurew.

The diet, after making every practicable provision for the exigences of the state, and committing the entire conduct of the war to the king, was prorogued on the 31st of May: previous to this, the following address from the king to the army was published at Warsaw:

Address

Address of the King to the Army.

" By virtue of the constitution enacted 22d March 1792, the supreme and general command of all the forces of the republic is entrusted to us. Thus the defence of our dear country is confided to Us and to You. The enemy that invades it is well known to every Polander. So many injuries, misfortunes, and humiliations, heaped upon us by Russia, call on God and your courage for vengeance. The war is no sooner declared than begun, without the least justifiable motive. Some degenerate Poles, rebels to their country, have lent a pretext for it. They wish, with foreign aid, to restore the ancient anarchy, subjection, and insignificance, which your king, at the head of a virtuous diet, has luckily banished from the Polish territories. Brave countrymen! we are now called upon to maintain our possessions, our honour, and our liberties, to defend our brethren, to revenge so many wrongs, which we and our forefathers have suffered, and to protect the honour of your king, who consecrates, with pleasure and sincerity, the remnant of his old age to his country. The nation longed to have a respectable army, but anarchy and foreign influence always opposed it: at last, by cheerful offers, it is raised to have in you its defenders, the improvement of whose condition was not forgotten by the present government. It was proper to add regularity and discipline, common and necessary in all armies, to the courage of Poles, which, though they may seem new to you, are not the less requisite for the strength, order, and glory of the army.

army. To execute those regulations shall be the duty of your commander, and to obey them ought to be your ambition: we all must obey the laws, and you those who execute them. The army we have opposed to us owes its strength to a blind obedience and submission to orders. Endeavour to surpass it even in this, and then neither its numbers nor its bravery will be able to intimidate the Poles. It is true, Russian troops have been accustomed to despise the Polish soldiers, but you have now an open field to deserve a more honourable opinion in future. Your country, for whose independence we are going to fight; your king, whose steps are directed by justice, shall value and reward your merit and valour: you may be sure of being amply repaid for the hazard of your lives, by the gratitude of your countrymen, by the acquisition of glory, and by the hands of your king.

“ Therefore, as your king and commander, we recommend to you most earnestly to unite good conduct to obedience, fortitude to courage, and love of your country to loyalty.

“ We recommend to the commanding officers vigilance and attention, exemplary temperance and courage, vigour and justice, on every occasion.

“ The army of a free nation thus qualified, with a good cause on their side, cannot fail to find their support in the powerful arm of the Omnipotent. You serve for honour---let it be your guide: the honour of a Polish soldier is of the highest importance, because it is a pledge of his allegiance to his country, to which he owes all.

“ Do not suffer a traitor among you (should any unfortunately be found), and the safety of your

your country will be your own work. In every danger remember and think of your dear country; our life is the least thing we can offer her. Your common father, your king, and your commander, gives you for ever this word of command---*Children! Let us either live free and respected, or die with honour.*

Given at Warsaw, May 25th, the 28th year of our reign.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS, REX."

The degenerate Poles alluded to in this address seemed to be as inconsiderable in number as in ability; the names of their leaders, which have appeared, are the nobles Potocki, Rzewuski, and Branicki, to whose party none were attached but their immediate dependents, though it is probable they persuaded the empress of Russia that numbers would join their rebellious confederacy.

While every warlike preparation that time or circumstance permitted was going forward at Warsaw, and on the eastern frontiers, the king, by an official note, communicated to the Prussian ambassador at his court, the marquis de Lucchefini, the declaration of the empress, which Bulgakow her ambassador had delivered; calling at the same time for the assistance of his ally the king of Prussia, in a pressing manner, pursuant to the 6th article in the treaty of alliance between them*. To this communication and requisition

* This treaty was dated March 29, 1790. The 6th article runs thus:—"If any foreign power whatever shall, by virtue of any preceding acts or stipulations, or any interpretation of them,

quisition his Prussian majesty answered, in the following letter :

Letter of the King of Prussia to the King of Poland.

Berlin, June 8, 1792.

“ Sir, my Brother,

“ The grand marshal of Lithuania, the comte de Potocki, has delivered to me your majesty’s letter, dated the 31st of May. I there see with regret the embarrassment in which Poland finds itself now involved. But I will acknowledge, with equal frankness, that, after all that has passed for the last *twelve* months, these embarrassments were to be *foreseen*. Your majesty will recollect that, on more than one occasion, the marquis de Luechefini was charged to manifest, not only to you, but to the preponderating members of the government, my just apprehensions on this subject. From the moment that *the general re-establishment of tranquillity in Europe permitted me to explain myself*, and that the *empress of Russia* had shewn a decided opposition to the order of things established on the 3d of May 1791, my way of thinking and the language of my ministers have *never varied*; and in observing with a *tranquil* eye the new consti-

them, assume the right of interfering in the internal affairs of the republic of Poland, or its dependencies, at any time, or in any manner; his majesty the king of Prussia will first employ his most efficacious good offices to prevent hostilities arising out of such a pretension;—but if all his good offices should fail of effect, and hostilities against Poland should be the consequence, his majesty the king of Prussia, considering *this* as a case falling within the meaning of the alliance, will assist the republic according to the tenor of the 4th article of the present treaty.

tution,

tution, which the republic has given to itself ~~with-~~
 OUT MY PRIVACY OR CONCURRENCE*, I have never
 had the idea either of supporting or protecting
 it. I have predicted, on the contrary, that the
 threatening measures and the warlike prepara-
 tions which the diet unceasingly deliberated
 upon one after another, would infallibly provoke
 the resentment of the empress of Russia, and
 draw upon Poland the evils which they were
 undertaken to avoid. The event fully satisfied
 those appearances, and one cannot dissemble in
 the present moment, that, *without the new form*
of government for the republic, and without the ef-
forts which they have announced for supporting it,
 the court of Russia would not have determined
 on the vigorous proceedings she has now em-
 braced.

“Whatever be the friendship that I have sworn
 to your majesty, and the interest I take in every
 thing that concerns you, you will yourself be-
 lieve that the state of things being *entirely*
changed since the alliance that I contracted with the
 republic, and the present conjuncture, brought
 on by the constitution of the 3d of May 1791,
 posterior to my treaty, *not being applicable* to the
 engagements therein stipulated, it does not be-
 long to me to resist the attack made on your
 majesty, if the intentions of the patriotic party
 are still the same, and if they persist in the de-
 sire of maintaining their *own* work; but if, *re-*
tracing their steps, they shall consider the diffi-
 culties that are arising upon all sides, I shall be
 ready to *concert* measures with her majesty, the
 empress of Russia, and to explain myself, at
 the same time, with the court of Vienna, to
 strive to reconcile the different interests, and to

* Compare this with his Letters in p. 390, 391.

agree on measures capable of restoring to Poland its tranquillity.

"I flatter myself that your majesty will find, in these dispositions and in these assurances, the sentiments of *sincere friendship, and of the consideration with which I am*

Your Majesty's good Brother,

FREDERICK-WILLIAM."

This answer was naturally considered by the Polish diet as an avowed dereliction, on the part of the Prussian monarch, of every existing treaty.

Hostilities had now commenced between the Polish and Russian armies, and a number of skirmishes took place; the first of note was on the 26th of May, near prince Poniatowski's camp, at Winica; an advanced party of the Russian army appearing near a post occupied by lieutenant Golejowski, with three hundred pikets, was attacked vigorously by the Poles, and driven into a wood, where, imprudently pursuing the enemy, this small body found itself drawn into an ambuscade, being immediately surrounded by a body of 2000 horse, two battalions of *chasseurs*, and fourteen pieces of cannon: through this body, however, the brave Poles cut their passage, with the loss of 100 men, having killed a much greater number of the enemy.

From that date, to the 17th of June, several other skirmishes happened, with various success, between detachments of the armies; but on this day the main army of the Poles, under the command of prince Poniatowski, finding its post at Volonna untenable, and its number far inferior
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to the Russians, retreated towards Zielme, closely followed by the enemy; but at this place, having been reinforced by some troops from Zaslaw, halted; a battle was the consequence, for the Russians appearing with an army of 9000 infantry and 8000 horse, a general engagement ensued, which was obstinately continued from seven in the morning until five in the afternoon, at which hour the Russians at last gave way, leaving 4000 dead on the field. The loss on the side of the Poles was, comparatively, inconsiderable, being only estimated at 800 infantry and 300 horse.

On the other hand, the Russian forces continued to penetrate the kingdom in several quarters; and the city of Wilna, and other places of consequence, fell into their hands.

To oppose the superiority in number and discipline of the invaders, Poland relied on the patriotic zeal of its people, and the bravery of its soldiers; both manifested themselves; the peasants furnished forage in many places without payment, others furnished horses, and in every district patriotic contributions were made; the soldiers, determined to make up by valour every deficiency in skill, distinguished themselves in every action; and during the retreat of the army from Volonna, 500 of them, like the Greeks at Thermopylæ, to stop the enemy, devoted their lives, and covered with their bodies the ground they disputed.

Astonished at the unprovoked invasion of their country by the armies of the empress of Russia, and not less at the king of Prussia's absolute dereliction of the treaties of alliance subsisting between him and the republic, the states made to the emperor of Germany a similar application with

with that addressed to Frederic, and received an answer equally unfavourable.

The Polish nation, thus frustrated in every hope of succour from its powerful neighbours, saw nothing but the melancholy prospect of the single-handed opposition of a raw and inadequate army, without credit or resources, against one of the mightiest potentates of the earth, if not openly assisted, at least secretly abetted, by all its neighbours, those called *infidels* alone excepted.

The king, finding not only that his ally the king of Prussia had deserted him, but that he had joined the empress in her ambitious and tyrannical views, called a meeting of the deputies of the different provinces upon the 23d of July, to deliberate on the best measures to be pursued for the welfare of the country. Of two evils they were obliged to choose the least; either to have their country entirely destroyed by the immense armies which were over-running it, and perhaps to have their existence as a state annihilated, or to agree to the haughty terms imposed upon them by their too powerful neighbours.

The king was obliged not only to annul the constitution of the 3d of May 1791, and agree to the re-establishment of that which existed before the revolution, but even to order the army under prince Poniatowski to be delivered up to the Russian general Brinicki. This was to take place, according to the agreement, on the 29th of July.

Many people, however, dissented from the general resolution. Malachowski, Potocki, Sapieha, Solticki, &c. refused to sign the re-confederation. Upwards of 4000 nobles, and several others, assembled, calling out—" *The constitution without the king!*" They sought after Ma-

lachowski, prince Sapieha, Potocki, and Solticki, and carried them round in public.

In the grand dukedom of Lithuania, in particular, a spirit of resistance manifested itself. What a disgrace to the policy of Europe, that not one state could be found friendly to a cause so honourable to humanity! Not long before this period Europe was on the eve of a general war for a barren territory between the Bog and the Dniefter, to preserve the balance of power; and here a whole kingdom was allowed to fall a victim to the ambition of Russia, without a single suspicion being thrown out by any one power that the same balance would be thereby endangered!

The manifesto or declaration of his excellency count Malachowski, marshal of the diet, was as follows:

“Stanislaus Nalecz, count Malachowski, marshal of the diet, and of the confederation of the provinces of the crown, knight of the Polish orders, &c. appearing in person at the territorial chancery of Warsaw, has freely and voluntarily, in presence of all the officers of the said chancery, made a declaration of the following tenor:—

“ In this mournful crisis, when disorders exist which ought to wound the heart of every citizen faithful to his duty, in this fatal moment, when we see with grief a powerful foreign force, authorized this day, by the adhesion of his majesty to the confederation of Targowicz, to destroy the work of our regeneration—this salutary work, undertaken and achieved under the auspices of liberty---this work which the whole nation applauded with transport, and which she had sworn to maintain with all her power:

“ I yield

“ I yield to the dictates of my conscience, and consider it a sacred duty openly to declare in the face of Heaven, of the whole universe, and of all posterity, that I see, and ever shall see, in the confederation of Targowicz, formed under the protection of; and supported by a foreign army, *an act of open despotism*, contrary to the wishes as well as to the interests of the nation, and infringing the sacred rights of all classes of citizens; an audacious enterprize which has been preceded by murder and disasters, and which will infallibly be followed by anarchy, servitude, and the total ruin of the republic.

“ This protest has not for its object to throw out the least reproach against any person whatsoever.

“ Insensible to all personal griefs, and not knowing either resentment or hatred, my conscience bears me witness that I never had any desire but for the glory and welfare of my country; that I have employed myself faithfully to the amelioration of its present state; that I have never wronged any person intentionally; that I never attempted, by the help of a vile dependency, to secure the protection of any foreign court, or ever affected to defy any of them; and that, always faithful to the obligations my situation imposed, I have endeavoured to fulfil my task with the most scrupulous exactitude.

● “ Full of this confidence, and fortified by the purity of my intention, I submit to the Divine justice the destinies of my country, and the proceedings of those whose pleasure it has been to do hurt to the republic. I declare further, that the present diet and the confederation subsist in all their vigour---that the act of suspension of the assembly gave to his majesty the unlimited

right of convoking the diet whenever the necessities of the state require it---that this convocation has not taken place, and that, instead of terminating in the usual manner this first legislative assembly, they have, contrary to the express will of all its members, acceded to a new one formed at Targowicz, and which declares the others null and illegal.

“ Seeing, then, my country threatened with the greatest evils, and not being willing my conscience should reproach me in any thing, I think myself obliged to inform my fellow-citizens of all the fatal ills with which they have been threatened.

“ Oh, nation, that I bear in my bosom ! Oh, my dear co-patriots ! I partake of your misfortunes, but I cannot soften them. Alas ! there only remains for me to offer you tears ; my fidelity and my inviolable attachment are known to you. Nothing can diminish or destroy them ; but I cannot give you any more proof of them, as they have deprived me of the means.

(Signed)

S. N. MALACHOWSKI,
Marshal of the Diet.

And underneath

PUCHALA,
Regent of the Chancery.”

Another protest, to the same purport, was entered by prince Casimir Sapieha, marshal of the confederation of the grand duchy of Lithuania, and registered in the acts of the territorial chancery of the duchy, at the palace of the king at Warsaw.

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Those who can still want proofs of the duplicity of the Prussian monarch may compare the tenor, but more particularly the first paragraph, of the following declaration with the two letters of his inserted in this History, page 390, 391.

Declaration of his Majesty the King of Prussia, respecting the March of his Troops into Poland.

“ It is known to all Europe, that the change of government which took place in Poland on the 3d of May 1791, *without the knowledge or participation of the neighbouring friendly powers*, has excited the displeasure and dissatisfaction of a great part of the nation; and that those who remained faithful to the ancient form of government, implored the assistance of the elevated princes who had guaranteed it.

“ Her Russian imperial majesty listened to the call, and flew to their assistance with a considerable body of troops, which were sent by divisions into those provinces where their presence appeared to be most necessary. Under their protection, the principal members of nobility entered into a general confederation, whose present labours are devoted to the suppression of the abuses of introduced innovations, and tending to restore virtue to the constitution of their country.

“ From that moment Prussia could not but feel a concern for the fate of Poland, partly as a neighbour, partly on account of the references which mutually subsist between these two states. Those great events could not but excite her attention; but the king always cherished hopes that the troubles would soon be happily terminated; and expected, therefore, to be able to

forego his interference, especially in a moment when objects, momentous and worthy of his solicitude, occupied him in another quarter.

“ His expectation was, however, disappointed. The (so-called) patriotic party, instead of yielding to the salutary designs of the court of Russia, had even the temerity to make an obstinate resistance against the imperial troops; and, although their weakness soon forced them to renounce the chimerical idea of an open war, they still continue to create private combinations, visibly tending to subvert order and public tranquillity. Even the king's own dominions feel their consequences by repeated excesses and violations of territory. But what still more requires the serious attention of the king and all the neighbouring powers, is the propagation of French Democracy, and the principles of that detestable faction who seek to make proselytes every where, and who have already been so well received in Poland, that the enterprizes of the Jacobin emissaries are not only most powerfully seconded there, but even revolution societies established, who make an open profession of their principles.

“ Great Poland is chiefly infected with that dangerous poison, and contains the greatest number of the zealous professors of mistaken patriotism. Their connections with the French clubs must inspire his majesty with a just distrust on account of the safety of his own dominions, and therefore put him under the necessity of taking effective measures.

“ His majesty being necessitated, in combination with the allied courts, to continue the war, and being on the eve of opening a campaign, thought

thought it proper to concert measures with the courts of Vienna and Petersburg; and their imperial majesties could not forbear owning, that from sound policy it should not be allowed that the factious should be suffered to be free in Poland, and expose his majesty to the danger of having an enemy in the rear, whose violent and wild enterprizes might become a source of fresh troubles.

“His majesty has, therefore, resolved to get the start of them, by sending a sufficient body of troops, under the command of M. de Mollendorf, general of infantry, into the territories of the republic, and especially into several districts of Great Poland.

“These measures of precaution have for their aim to cover the Prussian territories; to suppress the ill-disposed incendiaries and disturbers of tranquillity; to restore and maintain order and tranquillity; and lastly, to afford efficacious protection to the well-disposed inhabitants. It will only depend on them to merit that protection by a tranquil and prudent conduct, by giving to the Prussian troops a friendly reception and treatment, and by assisting them with whatever they may want, and facilitating their subsistence. The commanding general shall, on his own part, not be wanting to maintain good and severe discipline, to disburthen the inhabitants as much as in his power shall be, to redress all their grievances, and to pay punctually for the supplies which he may have occasion for. The king is fond of cherishing the hope that, with sentiments so pacific, he may depend on the good will of a nation, whose prosperity cannot be indifferent to his majesty, and to whom his

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majesty

majesty wishes to give real proofs of his affection and good wishes."

Berlin, Jan. 6, 1793.

The Prussian troops entered Thorn on the 24th of January; Dantzic soon after became completely a Prussian town, and a Gazette of the day gives us the following statement: A garrison of 2700 men are quartered upon the inhabitants; a commissary is arrived to regulate our imports, duties, excise, &c.; the old municipal government still remains; but that also must soon give place to another arrangement. Some individuals among our chief citizens have left the town, and gone to settle at Hamburgh and other places, not choosing to live under a military government. The comfortable side of our prospect is an increase of trade, and of the means of subsistence to the poor classes of the people, who have for many years past suffered grievously from the consequences of the oppressive conduct of our neighbours, and the gradual decay of our trade. Dantzic has lost one fifth of its inhabitants from these causes in the last ten years. The present acquisitions made by Prussia, though vastly inferior to what Russia gains, are indeed very important: they contain above 1061 square German miles, above 5000 English miles square; 262 towns or cities, 8274 villages, and 1,136,380 souls.

On the 3d of February 1793 was issued the following

*Protest of the Serene Confederated Republic of Poland
against the violent entrance of the Prussian Troops
into its Territories.*

"Favourable events or great misfortunes have, in turns, raised Poland to an eminent degree of splendour,

splendour, or plunged it into a state of weakness and oppression; but amidst these changes of opposite circumstances, unshaken constancy has always proved the elevation of its national character.

"The short interval of the four last years has seen obscured this aspect, honourable for the nation. The diet of 1788 assembled at an epoch which, by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, presented to Poland both the hopes and means of securing the basis of its republican government, became to it a source of evils, aggravated by their contrast with its vanished hopes. Seduction misled confident patriotism, and distorted its pure and beneficent views.

"The revolution of the 3d of May 1791, planned and effected without the support of the national will, without the concurrence of its neighbours, by transforming a republic into a monarchy, made despotism prevail within it, together with the dread of external storms, excited by the discontent of neighbouring courts.

"A constitution which infringed the ancient prerogatives of citizens, cemented with the blood of their ancestors, and incompatible with the political convenience of the powers who surround us, was destitute of the basis necessary to give it solidity.

"Faithful to our engagements, her majesty the empress of all the Russias, that august ally of Poland, and the guarantee of its government, deigned to offer to the nation, in the generous assistance of her power, a flattering prospect of the re-establishment of its liberties, its independence, its sovereignty, and its integrity.

"Virtuous citizens, determined to prefer death to slavery, did not hesitate to adhere to views so
consoling

consoling to their country, while others, retiring from their homes, and yielding to circumstances, waited only for that favourable moment which every thing seemed to preface to them. The declaration of the court of Petersburg secured to the Poles their republic, a free government, national independence, and the integrity of their domains. Peace and liberty preceded the banners of the Russian troops, who entered the territories of the republic as friends and auxiliaries. The abusive employment, however, of the national forces, in opposing an imprudent resistance, soon filled every virtuous citizen with grief, on seeing the blood of his brethren lavished without reflection.

“ The reign, however, of error and disorder soon disappeared, sentiments of fraternity brought together every heart. The king, the army, and the whole nation adhered to the band of confederation formed at Targowicz on the 14th of May 1792. Trouble and consternation then gave place to emotions of hope and joy. The calm re-established at home --the support of foreign assistance---confidence founded on the justice of the cause, and on the good disposition of our neighbours, all concurred to banish uneasiness. The national character excluded every idea of persecution. The persons and property, therefore, of individuals most distinguished by their opposition to the salutary views of the confederation were respected---Russian troops cantoned in the different provinces every where observed strict discipline; and if some citizens now and then experienced acts of oppression, these single injuries, from which people are not entirely free on the part of national troops, even in the time of peace, were the work only of some subaltern com-

commanders, and were redressed as soon as known.

“The confederation already imagined that it was about to accomplish its end ; its labours tending to regenerate the republican government, were already about to secure the liberty of the citizen, and to establish friendship and good understanding between it and neighbouring states ; already had the republic arrived at the period when it was about to enjoy in the bosom of peace the fruits of the active zeal of citizens, who had the courage to seize the helm of affairs at so difficult a crisis.

“The purity of their intentions unveiled, dispersed the clouds of prejudice, and the nation waited with confidence for the result of labours undertaken for the public happiness.

“Such was the state of things in Poland when the declaration of his majesty the king of Prussia froze every heart with terror and surprise. The motives assigned for the entrance of the Prussian troops into the territories of the republic, could not fail to give rise to uneasy suspicions in the minds of the Poles, whose character is as loyal as their conduct is open.

“Alarmed by the pretended progress of democracy in Poland, and still more by the rise of clubs destined to propagate it, ‘The king of Prussia,’ says the declaration, ‘when about to open a second campaign, thought it would not be proper to leave behind him an enemy from whom he had every thing to fear. He consequently considered it as an indispensable precaution to cause a part of his troops to enter the territories of the republic.’

“A continued correspondence between the military commanders, the palatinal confederations,
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the civil magistrates, and the general confederation, having enabled the latter to assure itself, that perfect tranquillity prevailed from one end of the kingdom to the other, all extraordinary measures of precaution have hitherto appeared to it superfluous. On seeing the declaration of his Prussian majesty, the general confederation, though astonished only at the assertions therein announced, and no ways convinced of the reality of their object, discharged in every respect what it thought due to a neighbour, a friend, and an ally. It declared in its answer, that no symptoms of disturbance appeared in the country; that all revolutionary clubs were proscribed; and, in short, that the public force, supported by the presence of the Russian troops, was more than sufficient to suppress all commotions. It therefore demanded, that his Prussian majesty would revoke the orders he had given for a body of his troops to enter the territories of the republic. In consequence of this answer, the general confederation, in deference rather to the uneasiness manifested by his majesty the king of Prussia, than to the existence of any necessity, sent strict orders to every body of troops to hold themselves always in readiness to march, wherever the smallest symptom of ferment might require their presence.

"These steps being taken, the general confederation and the whole nation entertained no doubt that his Prussian majesty, assured by so many motives, would order the march of his troops to be stopped. This deference seemed as consistent with the laws of good neighbourhood, as with the dignity of a free nation.

"Notwithstanding, however, these solemn assurances, and notwithstanding the evidence of the facts alledged in support of them, the Prussian
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fian army advanced, and one of its detachments appeared under the walls of Thorn. Its inhabitants, faithful to their duty, having refused entrance to the Prussian troops, experienced an open attack. Cannons were planted against it; the gates were broken open, the municipal guard were dislodged from their post; a defenceless city exhibited the spectacle of a place taken by assault, and the Prussian regiments entered it, making the air resound with shouts of joy. There were no soldiers of the republic in it to make resistance; the city depended for security on public faith, and that was violated. At the same epoch different Polish detachments, dispersed throughout Great Poland, were attacked and driven from their posts by superior forces.

“Confiding in solemn engagements, and in the faith of treaties, we could never imagine that we had occasion to apprehend a surprise or open violence, where every thing ought to have assured to us, that we should find only friendship and assistance. The few troops therefore cantoned on these frontiers, being destined only to watch over the internal tranquillity, instead of being armed for war, were even unprovided with cannon.

“The high idea which we have formed of the justice and magnanimity of his majesty the king of Prussia, increases our hopes, that that prince, enlightened by our answer, will stop the consequences of his first resolution, and that, instead of wishing to give support to a violation already made in the Polish territories, he will rather endeavour to convince the nation of his constant good will, by causing his troops to evacuate the domains of the republic. Resting on the goodness of our cause, we have not to fear any kind of pretensions injurious to any part of the States
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of the republic, guaranteed by so many treaties, and particularly by that of 1775, which binds his Prussian majesty, as it does the two other neighbouring courts.

“ Faithful therefore to our oath, faithful in our attachment to the ancient prerogatives of our ancestors, and faithful to our vocation, we protest in the most solemn manner, in the face of the universe, against all usurpation of the smallest part of the states of the republic. We openly declare that we enter into nothing, nor in any manner into any concern whatever, which may tend to dismember any part of the Polish domains; but that, on the contrary, we are ready to sacrifice even the last drop of our blood in defence of our liberty and integrity. In short, we hope that the two imperial courts connected by their guarantee, and that even all powers, in consequence of the reciprocity of national interests, will not behold with an eye of indifference a manifest violation of the right of nations, violent attempts made against the tranquillity of a neighbouring and friendly state, and the open invasion of its domains. We expect, above all, that the august sovereign in whom we have placed all our confidence, and who, in the face of Europe, has vowed to us good will, will not suffer the splendour of her renown to be obscured, and will rather think it becoming the magnanimity of her soul to add to the multitude of memorable acts which have immortalized her, one no less glorious, that of stretching out, at this critical period, the hand of assistance to a free nation, worthy in every respect to excite general interest.

“ In thus manifesting the purity of our intentions we declare, in short, that our efforts are
animated

animated by no other views than those of transmitting to our posterity, the free, independent, and well-organized republic; and that we will either preserve entire this republic, which we have regenerated, or that not one of us will survive its destruction.

Done at Grodno in the sitting of the general confederation of the two nations, 3d February 1793.

(L. S.) Signed by

STANISLAUS FELIX POTOCKI,
Grand Master of Artillery, and Marshal of
the General Confederation of the Crown.

ALEXANDER PRINCE SAPIEHA,
Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, and Mar-
shal of the General Confederation of that
Duchy.

And by a great number of the Counsellors of
the Confederation, and of other citizens."

The history of Poland at this time can in no way be so faithfully related as by the production of authentic state papers; and these become now so frequent, and, generally speaking, are so connected with each other, as to require little illustration from the author's pen. Beside, in producing these genuine documents, and suppressing any animadversions of his own, he pays, as he means to pay, due respect to the judgment and discrimination of the reader.

No sooner had the troops of Prussia entered Dantzic in a hostile manner than its *generous* and *faithful* monarch issued the following manifesto and declaration to that city:

"The same motives which induced his majesty the king of Prussia to order a corps of his troops to enter a district of Great Poland, put his majesty

justify also under the necessity of *making sure* of the city of Dantzic and its dependencies.

“Forbearing to mention the very unamicable dispositions which this city has for many years evinced against Prussia, it has now become the seat of an audacious sect, which proceeds from transgression to transgression, and seeks to propagate them by the polluted services of its votaries and accomplices.

“One of those villains has met with an open reception at Dantzic itself, after having laboured in vain to circulate the venom of its doctrine in the bosom of a happy and loyal nation, and he could not be wrested from the hands of his protectors but by dint of remonstrances.

“This recent example, other frequent abuses of a liberty ill-understood, the close connections which the rebels in France and Poland keep up with a party, which by the boldness of its principles predominates over the plurality of well-disposed citizens; and lastly, the facility with which the common enemy procures to himself, by means of his adherents at Dantzic, all kinds of provisions, and especially corn; these are so many objects which ought to have drawn the king's notice to this city, and to have induced him to keep it within its proper bounds, and to take care of the safety and tranquillity of the neighbouring provinces of Prussia.

“To this end his Prussian majesty, after having agreed with other powers interested in this, has charged his lieutenant-general M. de Raumez to take possession of the city of Dantzic and its dependencies, with a sufficient body of troops, with a view of preserving there good order, and public tranquillity.

“It

“ It only rests with the inhabitants to gain the king's good will, by a quiet and prudent conduct, in receiving and treating his majesty's troops in a friendly manner, and granting them necessary succour and assistance.

“ The general and commandant will not be remiss on his own part to observe the most rigorous discipline, and to grant his protection to all those who in this case may require it.

“ Whereas these are the sentiments of his Prussian majesty, the king flatters himself that the magistrates of Dantzick will not hesitate to accede to them, and to second in this manner the salutary views, of which they will be the first to feel the effects.”

Done at Berlin, Feb. 24, 1793.

The further partition of this unhappy country was now fast approaching: the four subsequent papers furnish a pretty ample account of that transaction: in the former, the Emperor, who, no doubt, had good reasons for forbearance, prepared the way by an absolute injunction to the Poles within his own dominions to view with perfect non-resistance the approaching fate of their native land. The other three are filled with shrewd political pretences, all serving to verify an adage too well known to need mention.

Declaration of the Emperor of Germany.

“ Francis II. by the Grace of God, &c.

“ Although we do not interfere in the domestic concerns of Poland, nor deem it necessary to give any direct precepts on that head to our Gallician subjects, yet since the king and republic of

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Poland

Poland have solemnly declared themselves in favour of the maintenance of the former relations guaranteed by the imperial court of Russia in alliance with us, still we are bound by a neighbourly and friendly regard to see that no concerted measures or counter operations against those lawful relations, in our hereditary dominions, should be tolerated.

“ We do therefore put our most gracious confidence in the docility and love of order and peace which we have always perceived with pleasure in our Gallician subjects, that they will totally forbear participating in any projects or efforts to create new changes or fermentations in Poland.

“ We expect, in the same manner, on the part of those subjects who reside in our dominions, that by a similar tranquil conduct they will render themselves worthy of the protection they enjoy. But should, against all expectation, any Polish subject dare to counteract, in our dominions, the present operations in Poland by mediation of the imperial court of Russia, we do hereby declare, that in case of such a participation in designs against the republic of Poland being discovered, all residence and abode in all our hereditary dominions shall be refused them ; and we do further ordain to all our governments and public offices, to exert the most careful and most rigorous vigilance, that our sentiments for the maintenance of public tranquillity thus openly declared by these our commands, be by every one, without exception, duly observed and attended to.”

Given at Vienna, Feb. 14, 1793.

*Ukase (or Manifesto) of Her Imperial Majesty the
Empress of Russia, relative to the Partition of Po-
land.*

“By her imperial majesty, my most gracious sovereign, I Michael Krechetnicoff, general in chief, senator, general governor of Tula, Kaloga, and the countries newly annexed from the Polish republic to the Russian empire, commander of all the armies there, and in the three governments of Little Russia, in the place of governor general of those three governments, inspector of the armies, knight of the order of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, St. Vladener, of the first class, the Polish White Eagle, and St. Stanislaus, and the Holstein order of St. Anne, hereby make known the supreme will and command of my most gracious sovereign her imperial majesty of all the Russias to all the inhabitants in general, and to every one in particular, of whatever rank or denomination, of the countries and places, now united for ever to the Russian empire from the Polish republic.

“The share her imperial majesty has hitherto taken in the affairs of Poland, has always been tending in the most direct and fundamental manner to the interests of both empires. It has not only been unsuccessful, but proved a fruitless burthen; and her endeavours to maintain peace, quiet, and freedom amongst her neighbours, have been attended with innumerable losses.

“Thirty years experience have shewn this in the numerous quarrels and eternal disputes amongst themselves, which have torn the Polish republic. Her imperial majesty has viewed their sufferings in the towns and cities bordering on her empire with great grief, considering them as

descended from the same race, and professing the Holy Christian religion.

“ At present even some unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, have not been ashamed to approve the government of the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, and to request their assistance to involve their country also in bloody civil wars.

“ The true Christian religion, and the very well being of the inhabitants of the abovementioned countries, would suffer from the introduction of such detestable doctrines, which tend to annihilate all the political and social bonds of society, to overthrow all safety, property, and prosperity. These enemies of peace and quiet, following the detestable plan of the mob of rebels in France, propagate their doctrines throughout Poland to the utmost of their power, which would destroy for ever their own and neighbours' happiness.

“ From these considerations, her imperial majesty, my most gracious mistress, as well to indemnify herself for her many losses, as for the future safety of her empire and the Polish dominions, and for the cutting off at once, for ever, all future disturbances and frequent changes of government, has been pleased now to take under her sway, and to unite for ever to her empire, the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants, namely, a line beginning at the village of Druy, on the left bank of the river Dwina, at the corner of the border of Semigallia; from thence extending to Neroch and Dubrova, and following the border of the woiwodship of Vilna to Stolptsa, to Nesvij, and then to Pinsk; from thence passing Kunish, between Viszero and Novogreble, near the frontier of Gallicia; from
thence

thence to the river Dneister, and lastly, running along the river till it enters the old border of Russia and Poland at Jegertic; in such manner, that all the cities, lands, and countries, lying within this line of demarcation, the new border of Russia and Poland, shall from henceforward for ever come under the sceptre of the Russian empire, and the inhabitants and possessors, of all ranks whatever, be subjects thereof.

“ Therefore, I being appointed by her imperial majesty, governor general of these countries, by her supreme order, have to assure, in her sacred name, and in her own words, as by this manifesto I make known to every body, and declare I will fulfil, to all her imperial majesty’s new subjects, and now my beloved countrymen, that her most gracious majesty is pleased, not only to confirm and insure to all the free and public exercise of their religion, and full security of property and possession, but to unite and affiliate them under her government, for the same and glory of the whole Russian empire, an example of which is to be seen in her faithful subjects the inhabitants of White Russia, now living in full peace and plenty under her wise and gracious dominion. Further, that all and every one of them shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of her old subjects, and that from this day every denomination of the inhabitants enters on the full participation of these benefits through the whole extent of the Russian empire.

“ Her imperial majesty expects from the gratitude of her new subjects, that they, being placed by her bounty on an equality with Russians, shall, in return, transfer their love of their former country to the new one, and live in future attached to so great and generous an empress.

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“ I, therefore,

“ I, therefore, now inform every person from the highest to the lowest, that, within one month, they must take the oath of allegiance before the witnesses whom I shall appoint ; and if any of the gentlemen, or other ranks, possessing real or immoveable property, regardless of their own interest, shall refuse to take the oath prescribed, three months are allowed for the sale of their immoveables, and their free departure over the borders ; after the expiration of which term, all their remaining property shall be confiscated to the crown.

“ Clergy both high and low, as pastors of their flocks, are expected to set the example in taking the oath ; and in the daily service in their churches, they must pray for her imperial majesty, for her successor the great duke Paul Petrovitz, and for all the imperial family, according to the formula which shall be given them.

“ In the abovementioned solemn assurance concerning the free exercise of religion and undisturbed possession of property, it is understood that the Jews living in these countries united to the Russian empire, shall remain on the former footing, protected in their religion and property : for her majesty's humanity will not permit them alone to be excluded from the benefits of her kindness under the protection of God, so long as they continue to live in peace, and pursue their trades as handicrafts like true and faithful subjects. Law and justice shall be administered, in the name of her imperial majesty, in the proper places, with the utmost strictness and equity.

“ I have further thought it needful to add, by order of her imperial majesty, that the troops shall, as in their own country, be under the strictest discipline ; their taking possession there-
fore

fore of the various places, and changing the government, shall not in the least alter the course of trade or living : for the increase of the happiness of the inhabitants in all parts is the intention of her imperial majesty.

“ This manifesto shall be read in all the churches on the 27th of the present month of March, registered in all the municipal books, and fixed up in proper places, for the general information ; and that full faith may be given to it, I have, in consequence of the powers intrusted to me, signed it with my hand, and affixed the seal of my arms, at the head quarters of the army under my command at Polona.

(Signed)

MICHAEL KRECHETNICOFF.”

Prussian Declaration.

“ We, Frederic William, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, &c.

“ Make known by these presents to the respective states, bishops, abbots, prelates, woiwodes, castle-keepers, starosts, chamberlains, and country judges ; the knighthood, vassals, and nobles, the magistrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of the spiritual and secular inhabitants of the woiwodships of Posen, Gnesen, Kalish, Siradia, the city and monastery of Czentochowa, the province of Wielun ; the woiwodship of Lentschitz, the province of Cujavia, the province of Dobrzyn, the woiwodships of Rawa and Plotzk, &c. in the circle of the boundaries, as likewise the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, hitherto in the possession of the crown of Poland, our gracious will, royal

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grace,

grace, and all sorts of good, and give them the following most gracious notice :

“ It is universally known that the Polish nation never ceased to afford to the neighbouring powers, and chiefly to the Prussian state, frequent reasons of just discontentment. Not satisfied (contrary to all rules of a good neighbourhood) with hurting the Prussian territory, by frequent invasions, with molesting and ill using the subjects on this side the frontiers, and with almost continually refusing them justice and lawful satisfaction; this nation have, besides, always busied themselves with pernicious plans, which must needs attract the attention of the neighbouring powers. These are matters of fact which could not escape the eye of an attentive observer of the late occurrences in Poland: but what chiefly excited the serious consideration of the neighbouring powers, is the spirit of rebellion continually increasing in Poland, and the visible influence which was obtained by those abominable exertions, by which all civil, political, and religious ties, would have been dissolved, and the inhabitants of Poland exposed to all the tremendous consequences of anarchy, and plunged into miseries the end of which could not be seen.

“ If in every country the adoption and spreading out of such destructive principles is always attended with the loss of the tranquillity and happiness of its inhabitants, its destructive consequences are chiefly, and the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland, since this nation have always distinguished themselves by disturbances and party spirit, and *are powerful enough of themselves to become dangerous to their neighbours by these disturbances.*

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“ It would certainly militate against the first rules of a sound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preservation of tranquillity in our state, if, in such a state of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive spectators, and should wait for the period when the faction feel themselves strong enough to appear in public ; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be exposed to several dangers, by the consequences of the anarchy on our frontiers.

“ We have therefore, in conjunction with her majesty the empress of Russia, and with the assent of his majesty the Roman emperor, acknowledged, that the safety of our states did require to set to the republic of Poland such boundaries which are more compatible with her interior strength and situation, and to facilitate to her the means of procuring, without prejudice of her liberty, a well-ordained, solid, and active form of government, of maintaining herself in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same, and preventing by these means the disturbances which have so often shaken her own tranquillity, and endangered the safety of her neighbours.

“ In order to attain this end, and to preserve the republic of Poland from the dreadful consequences which must be the result of her internal divisions, and to rescue her from her utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the destructive doctrines which they are bent to follow ; there is, according to our thorough persuasion, to which also her majesty the empress of all the Russias accedes in the most perfect congruity with our intentions and principles, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our states, and for this purpose

purpose to immediately take possession of the same, and to prevent, in time, all misfortunes which might arise from the continuance of the reciprocal disturbances.

“Wherefore we have resolved, with the assent of her Russian majesty, to take possession of the abovementioned districts of Poland, and also of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, to the end of incorporating them to our state.

“We herewith publicly announce our firm and unshaken resolution, and expect that the Polish nation will very soon assemble in the diet, and adopt the necessary measures to the end of settling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the salutary end of securing to the republic of Poland an undisturbed peace, and preserving her inhabitants from the terrible consequences of anarchy. At the same time we exhort the states and inhabitants of the districts and towns which we have taken possession of as already mentioned, both in a gracious and serious manner, not to oppose our commanders and troops, ordered for that purpose, but rather tractably to submit to our government, and acknowledge us from this day forward as their lawful king and sovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient subjects, and to renounce all connection with the crown of Poland.

“We do not doubt but every body whom this may concern, will attend to it with obedience; but in case, contrary to all expectation, some one or other state and inhabitants of the said districts and towns should refuse to obey the contents of this our open letter, and not take the oath of allegiance, nor submit to our government, or even attempt to oppose our commanders and troops, such person or persons have unavoidably

voidably to expect the punishments usual in such like cases, to be inflicted upon them without any distinction.

"In witness whereof we have subscribed this patent with our own hand, and caused our royal seal to be set to it to be published in due place, and to be publicly printed.

"Done at Berlin the 25th of March, 1793.

FREDERICK WILLIAM, (L. S.)
(FINKESTEIN,)
(ALVENSLEBEN.)"

Russian Declaration.

"The intentions which her majesty the empress of all the Russias has caused to be announced in the declaration delivered on the 7-18th May, last year, by her minister at Warsaw, upon the occasion of her troops entering Poland, were without contradiction of a nature for obtaining the suffrage, deference, and one might even add, thankfulness of the whole French nation. However, all Europe has seen in what manner they have been received and appropriated.

"To open to the confederation of Targowicz the road by which they might attain the exercise of their rights and legal power, it was necessary to take up arms, and the authors of the revolution of the 3d of May 1791, and their adherents, have not quitted the career by which they have provoked the Russian troops, until after they were vanquished by their efforts.

"But if open resistance ceased, it was only to make room for secret machinations, whose developed springs are the more dangerous, as they often escape the most attentive vigilance, and even the reach of the law.

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“ The spirit of faction and disturbance has shot such deep roots, that those who mischievously foment and propagate them, after having been unsuccessful in their cabals at foreign courts to render the views of Russia suspicious to them, have endeavoured to delude the multitude, always easy to be overtaken, and succeeded in making them share in the hatred and animosity they have conceived against this empire, for having frustrated them in their criminal expectations.

“ Without speaking about several facts of public notoriety, that prove the mischievous disposition of the greatest number of the Polanders, let it suffice to mention, that they have been known to abuse even the principles of humanity and of moderation, to which the generals and officers of the empress's army, pursuant to the express orders they had received, conformed their conduct and actions; and to burst out against them in all manner of insults and bad proceedings, insomuch that the most audacious durst to make mention of Sicilian vespers, and threaten to make them undergo the same.

“ Such is the reward which these enemies of tranquillity and of good order, whom her imperial majesty was willing to re-establish and secure in their native country, reserved for her generous intentions!!!

“ From this, one may guess at the sincerity of the accession of most among them to the now existing confederation, and also at the duration and solidity of the peace both abroad and in the bosom of the republic.

“ But the empress, accustomed for these thirty years to struggle against the continual agitations of this state, and trusting to the means Providence gave her to contain within their bounds
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the diffensions which have reigned there until this day, would have persevered in her disinterested exertions, and continued to bury in oblivion all the grievances she has to lay to its charge, and also the lawful pretensions to which they intitle her, if inconveniences of a still more serious nature were not to be apprehended. The unnatural delirium of a people of late so flourishing, now degraded, dismembered, and on the brink of an abyss ready to swallow them, instead of being an object of horror for those factious persons, appears to them a pattern for imitation. They endeavour to introduce into the bosom of the republic this internal doctrine, which a sect, altogether impious, sacrilegious, and absurd, has engendered, to the misfortune and dissolution of all religious, civil, and political societies.

“ Clubs, which are connected with the Jacobine Clubs at Paris, are already established in the capital, as well as in several provinces of Poland; they distil their poison in a secret manner, fill the people's minds with it, and cause them to ferment.

“ The establishment of an axiom so dangerous for all powers whose states border upon the dominions of the republic, must naturally excite their attention. They have in conjunction taken the most proper measures for stifling the evil before it came to maturity, and preventing its contagion from reaching their own frontiers. Her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and his majesty the king of Prussia, with the assent of his majesty the emperor of the Romans, have found no other effectual ones for their respective safety than to confine the republic of Poland in narrower bounds, by awarding to her an existence and proportions which suit an intermediary power best, and which facilitate to her the means
of

of securing and preserving herself, without prejudicing her former liberty, and a government that is wisely regulated, and at the same time active enough to prevent and repress all such disorders and disturbances as have so often impaired her own tranquillity and that of her neighbours. For this purpose, their majesties the empress of all the Russias and the king of Prussia, being united with a perfect concert of views and principles, are thoroughly convinced that they cannot better prevent the entire subversion the republic is threatened with after the discord that has divided it, and especially by those monstrous and erroneous opinions that begin to manifest themselves, than by uniting to their respective states those of the provinces which actually border upon the same, and by taking an immediate and effective possession of them, in order to shelter them in time from the fatal effects of those very opinions which people seek to propagate there.

“ Their said majesties, by announcing to the whole Polish nation in general the firm resolutions they have taken on this head, invite them to assemble as soon as possible in a diet, to the end of proceeding to an amicable regulation concerning this object, and to concur with the salutary intention they have for securing to her in future a state of undisturbed peace fixed on a stable and solid basis.

“ Given at Grodno, the 29th of March, 9th April, 1793.

JACOB DE SIEVERS,

“ Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of her Imperial Majesty of all the Russias.”

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In answer to the 2d and 4th of these papers the following note was delivered on the 28th of April by the illustrious general confederation to his excellency M. De Sievers, ambassador from the empress of all the Russias.

“The general confederation of the two nations having enjoined the undersigned to answer the notes of his excellency M. De Sievers, ambassador extraordinary of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, they find themselves charged and constrained to confess, that the confederation never expected a declaration of the taking of the provinces of the republic, and that they on the receipt of the first note have of course found themselves in the difficult situation of conciliating the painful sentiments they found themselves penetrated with respecting the regard due to neighbouring and allied powers; a situation which alone was the cause of a longer deliberation.

“The general confederation thought, they might indeed suppose, by the purport of the notes delivered to them, both on the part of her imperial majesty of all the Russias, and on the part of his Prussian majesty, that the taking of the wealthiest provinces of the republic of Poland, and whose extent exceeds that which is left her, is no longer an object of negotiation susceptible of a mutual arrangement, but rather a declaration of what these two powers have pleased to submit under their dominion; and it has consequently appeared to the general confederation, that no power whatsoever, not even that of the diet, being able to avert the disaster which unexpectedly has befallen the republic, it would have been the duty of the said confederation, who with a solemn oath have bound themselves, in the face of the church,

church, to maintain the integrity of the country in the smallest particle, to withdraw themselves from the least participation of any thing that might justly render them perjurers. The deliberations then only run upon proper means of saving the honour of a clear and irreproachable conscience; but since the confederation have found themselves to be unable to serve the country in a useful manner, and to deserve by a loyal counter-declaration to see themselves rather pitied than despised, after an event they can in no ways reproach themselves with, and of which they hope to be cleared by an equitable and compassionate public.

“ It was in a contest of similar sensations, when the second note of his excellency the ambassador was handed to the general confederation, who are besides forced to fear the reproaches of the nation concerning their inaction, especially after having been informed, that whatever was furnished to the numerous army of her imperial majesty, should not be refunded till the universals were published, in order to assemble an extraordinary diet.

“ Finally, they have charged the underwritten to declare in the name of the general confederation, and by their express order, that the said confederation think themselves fully justified before the sight of the Supreme Being, and the equitableness of the neighbouring and allied powers, likewise before their just and impartial nation, concerning any participation whatever in the plan of dividing Poland, and relative to the measures they adopt, pursuant to the laws guaranteed by those very powers—by recalling the members of the permanent council, who have not given an account yet of their past administration—

tion—by replacing with new members those that are lawfully excluded—and to further the complement established by the law of 1775; by restoring besides to this magistracy all the activity given them, to the end of effectually relieving the pressing exigencies of the republic, and of continuing its government.

“The underwritten are in hopes his excellency the ambassador extraordinary of her imperial majesty will find this present answer as loyal and just as all the actions of the confederation have always been, and that he will acquaint his court with it, by justifying whatever may have been the effect of a too limited power by an oath of the said confederation taken in a solemn manner.

PUTAWOKI,

Vice Marshal of the Confederation of
Lithuania.

ZABIELLO,

Marshal of the Confederation of the
Crown.”

The two notes, delivered to the Polish diet from the ministers of St. Petersburg and Berlin, demanding the appointment of a deputation to sanction the division of the country, produced the most violent altercation. It was agreed in the fitting of the 26th of June, upon the motion of M. Jankowski, by a considerable majority of votes, to claim the mediation of all the foreign courts with those of Berlin and St. Petersburg, to withdraw their troops from the provinces of the republic, and to give up the same.

A motion was afterwards made, that the deputation demanded should be empowered to treat with the court of Russia only: this proposition was supported by the king, and carried by a majority of 107 voices against 24.

On the 28th the marshal again brought forward the appointment of a delegation to treat with the courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin conjointly. This was opposed by almost the whole chamber, as inconsistent with the resolution already adopted to treat only with the court of St. Petersburg, and an injunction was voted to the chancellors of Courland and Lithuania, to draw up an answer to the notes delivered by the Russian and Prussian ministers, conformable to the principles of this resolution. The instructions prepared by the chancellors for the ministers at foreign courts, and for the conduct of the delegation, viz. to treat only with the court of St. Petersburg, were read. It was proposed, as an additional article, to call M. Ducache, *Chargé des Affaires* from the court of Vienna, to the negotiations, because the emperor had guaranteed the treaty of 1775. To give time for examining this amendment, the diet adjourned to July the 1st, when the debates on the delegation were renewed; and to get rid of a discussion, which, the longer it was pursued, became the more embarrassed, it was unanimously agreed to adjourn the diet to the 15th of July.

On the 15th the deputies held a second conference with the Russian ambassador, and delivered to him the following memorial:

Remonstrances

Remonstrances made to the Count de Sievers, the Russian Ambassador, on the Part of the King and the States of Poland, by the Chancellors of the Crown, and of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

“ The king and the confederated states of the republic having had notice of a second violence committed to-day upon the deputies of the nation, of whom many have been arrested at their houses; feeling with sorrow the injuries which a free and independent nation has suffered from a foreign power, and not being able to continue legally our deliberations without the presence of those members of the diet, we have ordered unanimously the chancellor to present, in our name, a note to the Russian ambassador, to represent to him the general sensation which such a proceeding has occasioned, and to demand the immediate enlargement of the persons arrested. . . .

“ Having also learned that the ambassador had ordered the provisions destined for the use of the king to be intercepted, and the estates of M. Tyszkiewicz, marshal of the grand duchy of Lithuania, to be sequestered, which gives us reason to apprehend that in future such violences may be increased, we resolved unanimously that the chancellors shall make to the ambassador suitable representations on the subject, insisting that such orders should be countermanded, as well with regard to the king's domains, as the sequestration of the estates of the marshal Tyszkiewicz; and with respect to other estates of which the violation has not yet come to our knowledge, the ambassador will henceforth be pleased to abstain from giving such orders.

"A copy of this note shall be communicated to all the foreign ministers residing near the king's person, and the states assembled."

Done at Grodno, July 11, 1793.

This memorial the deputies requested the ambassador to transmit to the empress; which, however, he absolutely refused to do; and, in a note which he sent to the diet, accompanied by menaces, he insisted on the signature and ratification of the treaty of alliance and commerce between Russia and the Republic; and that the deputies should be invested with full powers to effect the same.

In the session of the same day (the 15th) the note was read, the diet consented to the prorogation of the session till the 30th, but refused to comply with the wishes of the Russian ambassador respecting the treaty of alliance. This treaty, a plan of which the deputies presented on that day to the diet, consisted of ten articles, and contained some advantages at the expence of some sacrifices. The Polish nation might chuse the form of government which it conceived best adapted to its interests, except that of the 3d of May 1791; but the basis of the advantages to be granted to Poland was the complete and full ratification of the treaty of partition between the courts of Petersburg and Berlin, in its full extent, as was required on the 9th of April.

In consequence of the refusal of the diet to accede, the Russian ambassador on the 16th sent a note tantamount to a formal declaration of war. He said in this note, that, unless the deputies were invested with the authority required on the 17th, he should lay the estates, possessions,

stons, and habitations of the members of the diet under a military execution; and, should the king adhere to the opposite party, the royal domains would be treated in the same manner.

For several successive days the diet was assailed with official notes from the Russian ambassador and the Prussian minister, filled with violent menaces, pressing the signature of the treaty. The states, however, persisted in their refusal. At last M. de Sievers, the Russian ambassador, sent in his *ultimatum* in a note, which ended with the following remarkable expressions:

“ The underwritten must besides inform the states of the republic assembled in the confederated diet, that he thought it of absolute necessity, for preventing tumult, to order TWO BATTALIONS OF GRENADIERS, WITH FOUR PIECES OF CANNON, TO SURROUND THE CASTLE, under the command of major-general Rautenfeld, who is to concert measures with the grand marshal of Lithuania for securing the tranquillity of their deliberations. The under-written expects that the sitting will not terminate until the demanded signature of the treaty is decided.”

Done at Grodno, the 2d of September,
1793.

His excellency kept his word: the two battalions soon arrived with their cannon: the castle was so closely surrounded that no person was suffered to go out. Major-general Rautenfeld, with the officers of the division, took post in the senate, pretending to guard his majesty's person against conspirators. The king, conscious of his rectitude, and disbelieving the existence of any conspiracy against him, sent a delegation to the Russian ambassador, declaring that he would

not open the session in the presence of the Russian officers. In consequence, they were ordered to retire, except the general, who declared publicly that no member should be suffered to quit the senate before the consent to the treaty was given. The debates were long and violent; and it was not till three o'clock the next morning, after three successive divisions, that the diet came to the following resolution:

Decree of the Diet, passed on the 2d of September, at Grodno, empowering the Deputation to treat with the Prussian Minister.

“ We the king, together with the confederate states of the republic assembled in diet, having heard the report of the deputation appointed to negotiate with the minister of the king of Prussia, and seen the plan of the proposed treaty—Whereas it appears that, notwithstanding the mediation of the Russian ambassador, the court of Berlin persists in measures detrimental to the republic, and that hardly a modification of some of the articles in that treaty was obtained, whereby we find ourselves in the highest degree oppressed: therefore, far from acknowledging the pretended legality of right whereby the court of Berlin endeavours to justify its violence exerted towards the republic, but, on the contrary, adhering most strictly to our former declaration by the note given in answer to those of the two allied courts—**DECLARE** before all Europe, to whom we have repeatedly appealed, That, founded on the faith of treaties most sacredly observed on our part, as well as on that of the treaty recently entered into with his majesty the king of Prussia, and *at his own desire,*
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in the year 1790 (whereby the independence and the integrity of Poland were guaranteed in the most solemn manner), being deprived of free will, surrounded at this very moment of the present act by an armed foreign force, and threatened with a further invasion of the Prussian troops, to the end of ruining our remaining territories, we are forced to commission and authorize the said deputation to sign the treaty, such as it was planned and amended under the mediation of the Russian ambassador, containing in particular this clause---“ That it shall be guaranteed by her majesty the empress of Russia, his sovereign, with all separate articles relating thereto, especially in regard to commerce, clergy, security of the republic and of the inhabitants, either wholly comprized under foreign dominion, or possessing property in both countries; namely, that the present prince primate of Poland might reside constantly within the republic, so attending to his high office, and enjoy his entire revenues; also, that in case of the family of princes Radzivil being extinct, the house of Brandenburg should not form any pretension to their succession, which shall belong to the republic:” with the following alteration, however, of the last article in the said treaty; “ That we the king will not ratify such treaty of cession, both in our and in the republic’s name, unless the treaty of commerce, and all separate articles mutually agreed on, under the accepted mediation and guarantee of the court of Russia, by both parties, shall be finally settled and signed by the contracting powers.”

The subsequent negotiation with Prussia ended as it began, or rather surpassed all the violences exercised on the 2d of September.

On the 23d of that month the Russian ambassador, early in the morning, opened the negotiation, by arresting four members of the diet, viz. Krasnodemefki, of Liva; Szydloufki, of Plock; Mierski, of Wyszogrod; and Sharzynski, of Lomza, whom he sent off immediately under a guard to the respective places they represented.

Next, he ordered two battalions of grenadiers, with three pieces of cannon, to surround and block up all the avenues and gates of the castle.

After these preliminaries, the sitting of the diet began. Its formal opening was strongly opposed, on the ground of a former decree, that all deliberations should cease whenever any violent act should be employed against a member of the legislative body.

In consequence, before the reading of the ambassador's notes was allowed, two deputations were successively sent to him, to demand the liberty of the arrested members. They were answered both verbally and by a note, with absolute refusal. The notes were then read. The house conceiving itself to be in a passive state, as being under foreign arms, and deprived of a free deliberation, would not proceed for many hours on any business; during which time they witnessed a most distressing and humiliating scene; a Russian general strutting to and fro in the middle of the senate, in the presence of the king on the throne, persuading and menacing, alternately, the members to sign, unconditionally, the demands of the king of Prussia.

Five hours were spent in this manner; at last, on the motion of count Ankiewicz, nuncio of Cracow, it was agreed to make a solemn declaration, or protest, against the violent measures

tures employed by the Russian ambassador on the 2d of September, and that day; and that, to prove a total inactivity of the diet, instead of expressing their sentiments in the usual manner, either by voting or by acclamation, they should keep a mournful silence when the marshal should propose the project in question. This was accordingly adopted.

Thus was obtained the consent to a cession, which is to justify it in the eyes of Europe and posterity. Thus ended this extraordinary negotiation, unexampled in the annals of diplomatic history; and thus, in consequence, was signed the treaty of cession of the Polish provinces to Prussia. The protest, however, of the diet, deserves to be particularly noticed by the present generation and by all posterity.

Declaration of the Diet.

“ The diet of Poland, hemmed in by foreign troops, and threatened with an irruption from the Prussian army—informed, too, that this irruption shall be attended with universal desolation and destruction---finally, insulted by a thousand outrages, have been forced to accede to the signing of the treaty with Prussia.

“ They did endeavour to add to the treaty some conditions to which they conceived that the lamentable situation of their country would have extorted a consent even from the heart of power. But the diet were deceived. They found that power was unaccompanied by pity, and that Prussia, having thrown her victim to the ground, would not refrain from enjoying the miserable satisfaction of trampling upon it. Fresh insults have been heaped upon their heads,
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and new conditions have been imposed upon them. To prevent all deliberations upon these conditions, the diet have not only been surrounded by foreign troops, and insulted by menacing notes, but they have been violated by the arrest of their members, who have been dragged ignominiously from the midst of them, while those who were suffered still to possess a personal freedom, have been held in mental oppression and slavery.

“ I, therefore, the king of Poland, enervated by age, and sinking under the accumulated weight of so many vexations and such multiplied oppressions; and we also, the members of the diet, declare, that being unable, even by the sacrifice of our lives, to relieve our country from the yoke of its oppressors, CONSIGN it to POSTERITY, trusting that means may then be found to rescue it from oppression and slavery. Such means are unhappily not in our power. Other countries neglect us. While they reprobate the violations which one country is alledged to have committed against liberty, they can see not only with apathy, but with approbation, the outrages which have been committed against Poland. We have done. We accede, for the reasons above-mentioned, to the treaty laid before us, though it is contrary to our wishes, to our sentiments, and to our rights.”

Done at Grodno, Sept. 24, 1793.

This appeal, as well as a detail of the events of the 23d of September, and the following days, were afterwards transmitted to all the foreign ministers.

By subsequent measures the Polish nation, believing its political existence to depend on a perpetual

petual alliance with a powerful neighbour, put itself under the *protection* and courted the *benevolence* of her imperial majesty of all the Russias.

The end of the diet of Grodno was worthy an assembly from whose epoch Poland will date the consummation of her political annihilation, and the remembrance of which will remain deeply engraven on the mind of every friend of justice and humanity. The last sittings were remarkable for the turbulent and precipitate manner with which they finished, or, more properly speaking, strangled, the important business which was on the carpet, namely, the new constitution. Important as this was for the remains of the republic, which still preserved the name of Poland and Lithuania, they entered not into the least discussion upon the different articles which were to compose it. The plan, which had been previously drawn up, experienced very little change, was accepted *in a mass*, and its acceptance was inserted in the registers, with the addition that it had been read before the states assembled in a confederated diet. About 20 nuncios wished, it is true, to protest against various articles, but no attention was paid either to their advice or opposition, and this new form passed immediately into a law, at least for the time, for its perpetuity was not assured by any guarantee, not even by that of Russia. This they failed not to remark as a singularity; but it was no matter of surprize to those who recollected the substance of the 15th article of the treaty of alliance between Russia and Poland, in which it was expressly stipulated, "that the king and republic engage, in the most solemn and binding manner, not to undertake or effect any change or amendment which may infringe the form of government to be established, without

without consulting her majesty the empress of all the Russias, or her successors;" the result of which stipulation was, that Russia, without engaging for the *perpetuity* of the new form, took care, if ever a change were requisite, it should be made without her approbation.

The act of this constitution was immediately published in the Polish tongue. It consisted of four parts; the first of which contained the *pacta conventa*, and the fundamental laws. The other parts prescribed the regulations for the dietines, the different tribunals, the clergy, &c. Another act, passed towards the close of this unfortunate diet, consolidated the last dismemberment of the republic, by establishing three commissioners for the demarcation of the limits; one for the confines between Russia and Lesser Poland; another for those between the former and Polish Lithuania; and a third to regulate the frontier with the Prussian estates; the whole conformably to the *treaties of cession* signed in the name of the diet. As for the treaty of commerce with the court of Berlin, it met with a number of difficulties, especially with regard to the staple duty which the city of Dantzick enjoyed when it belonged to the sovereignty of Poland; they would not suffer this affair to retard the closing of the diet, and the further negotiation of this treaty was referred to the new permanent council, jointly with the commission of the treasury.

It was observed, that, in the course of the negotiation, the ambassador, count de Sievers, supported, as much as lay in his power, the commercial interests of Poland, but in such a manner as by no means either to interrupt or weaken the good understanding which subsisted between him and the Prussian minister. The latter, on
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the contrary, in the long and last sitting, from the 23d to the 24th of November, delivered a note to the states assembled, congratulating them on the alliance which they had concluded with the court of Petersburg, and assuring them that the alliance was the more agreeable to the king his master, as the empress was the ally and friend of his Prussian majesty.

Poland, thus reduced to one-third part of its primitive force and extent, naturally lost a proportionate part of its revenues. In the last session of the 23d of November a plan was formed and adopted to raise two loans under the guaranty of her Russian majesty; one of 27 millions of Polish florins, to discharge the private debts of the king; the other of 10 millions, for the use of the republic itself. The revenues of the king's domains were specially appropriated for the payment of his debts. As for the finances of the republic, it was stated by the protocol of the deputation charged with the examination of that part of the public œconomy, that for the future, and in consequence of its dismemberment, its revenues should not exceed 16 millions of Polish florins a year, ten millions of which were to be contributed by what remained of the provinces of Poland, and six millions by the remnant of those of Lithuania. As this sum, therefore, must serve to defray the support of the army, the other expences of the state comprized in the civil list, and the revenues of the king; his Polish majesty, for the future, could receive only two millions from the treasury.

We have before observed, that the close of the diet was equally turbulent and stormy as the commencement. In fact, the two last sessions were far more tempestuous. The discontent
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against the procedure of the Russian ambassador burst out with all its force, and the party in opposition to the court of Russia exerted every effort.

Some time back, in consequence of some representations made in the name of the empress, they abolished the distinctions of a military order destined to decorate and reward those officers of the Polish army who had signalized themselves. The re-establishment of this order was now demanded and decreed. The decree had no sooner passed than an officer, who was among the spectators, presented himself in the middle of the hall, decked with those distinctive marks. He thanked the king for restoring to the brave soldiers of Poland a decoration which they had so well merited by defending their country. His example was followed in an instant by most of the nuncios. They all rose, and proceeded in a very tumultuous manner to the throne, to kiss his majesty's hand, and to thank him. This decree, however, which must displease the Russian minister, had passed suddenly, and almost by surprise; Stanislaus Augustus was, therefore, under the necessity of blaming the disorder of this deliberation, and still more, the confused return of thanks which were offered him. His speech rather damped the ardour of their minds; but neither his majesty nor the marshal of the diet could effect the revocation of the decree, which, notwithstanding the wishes of Russia, re-established the military order. Such was the end of the famous diet of Grodno, which separated on the 24th of November 1793, at nine o'clock in the morning.

The boldness, however, which had thus re-established a military order that was offensive to the

the empress, did not answer the public expectation; for on the 24th of December count de Sievers received a courier from Petersburg; immediately after which it was reported that that minister was on the point of quitting Warsaw without taking leave, the empress being extremely irritated at the re-establishment of the order which the diet of Warsaw of 1791 had only instituted to reward those who fought against the arms and interest of her imperial majesty. As soon as this was known, the permanent council assembled, and the result was, a resolution to suppress the said military order, and send a deputation to Petersburg to announce the same formally to the empress. The count Tyskiewicz was accordingly sent to induce her majesty to pardon the republic for the fault committed by *her late diet*.

The following is the substance of the new Polish constitution decreed by the diet :

Art. I. The kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with the remainder of the duchies, woiwodships, countries, and districts, of which they now consist, being, according to their rights and privileges, an individual whole, shall constitute forthwith an indivisible, free, and independent republic, whose supreme power shall be vested in the diet. The latter, having constantly the king at its head, shall consist of the senators and the representatives of the nobility; and if thus assembled in this lawful manner, it shall have the sole power of making laws, and the nation shall only be bound to obey such laws as the diet hath enacted. The diet alone can impose taxes, and support therewith an army which must be faithful; it can alone declare war, make peace, and conclude all

kinds of treaties, establish and direct colleges or offices of state, fix their duration, chuse their members, send ambassadors, &c. &c. In short, no ordinances shall be executed in the territories of the republic, which have not been derived from the states in diet assembled. The legislative power shall for ever remain separated from the executive power: the diet can, therefore, accomplish the execution of all its decrees by the magistrates only. No part of the executive power shall order any thing, or act beyond what has been ordained by the laws.

Art. II. The property of the feudal right shall never be annihilated, and the sovereignty of the republic over the fief shall constantly continue.

Art. III. The Roman Catholic religion of both rituals shall be the constant predominant one in Poland.

Art. IV. The secession from the Roman Catholic religion to some other religion, shall ever be a crime in Poland; and he that shall be convicted thereof is to be banished the kingdom; at the same time the constitution of 1775, with regard to Protestants, shall be observed.

Art. V. The king and queen of Poland must be Roman Catholics. Should the queen be of a different persuasion, and not abjure the same, she cannot be crowned.

Art. VI. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania shall remain for ever united with Poland, in which respect the rights of the union, and other particular rights of that province, shall be preserved.

Art. VII. The incorporation of Courland with Crown-Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, made in 1569, besides all other constitutions

tions with regard to that dukedom, as likewise of the district of Pilthen, shall be preserved inviolate.

Art. VIII. It shall be permitted to no branch of the public power, not even to the legislative branch, to exchange or cede any possession of the republic. Treaties of that kind are not only declared void, but every one who shall propose them is to be declared and punished as a traitor to his country.

N. B. The succession to the throne, according to the new constitution, is henceforth to be accomplished by the choice of the states.

On the 7th of February 1794, baron d'Ingelstrohm, who had succeeded count de Sievers as Russian ambassador at Warsaw, demanded of the states not only the public annulling of all the acts of the diets of 1788 and 1791, together with the form of constitution then established, but the absolute surrender into his hands of all papers relating to those transactions, whether in public records or in private cabinets. In consequence of which was drawn up the following act:

“ Not to leave posterity any traces of the ordinary diet opened in 1788, and afterwards converted into a revolutionary diet on the 3d of May 1791, we declare, by the unanimous consent of the republican states assembled, this diet as not having existed, and its decrees of no effect. The constitution, the laws, and all the decrees made in the course of this diet, having been the cause of every kind of calamity, and the loss of those immense provinces which the republic has suffered, we annul, and decree that they shall not be inserted in our code of laws: and as this diet, among other things, reversed the law which forbade the choice of a successor during our life,

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and the nomination of any one whatever to succeed to the crown of Poland, and demanded us to agree to that change, while we, remembering the *pacta conventa*, persisted in it by energetic representations; but, not being able to resist the repeated demands of the diet then assembled, who had dispensed us, in the name of the whole nation, from the sworn article of the *pacta conventa*, with regard to the succession to the throne, we obeyed faithfully their declared will; we are persuaded that such a step, which had not in view our personal advantage, or that of our family, cannot be imputed to us as a fault. But, as the illusory aspects of the same diet, instead of the welfare, has brought the greatest disasters on our republic, on that account we promise, with the consent of the states now assembled, that from this time it shall not be lawful either for us or our successors, without the consent of the republic, to violate or weaken this fundamental law of the Polish nation."

An order was soon after issued from the Russian court for the reduction of the Polish troops to 16,000 men; many regiments opposed this measure, and disturbances broke out, particularly towards South Prussia, where the insurgents were headed by Madelinsky, a Polish nobleman and brigadier of the national troops, who peremptorily refused to disband according to the late order. The spirit of resistance rapidly spread, and the capital was soon in a state of fermentation, and assumed quite a military aspect. Fifteen thousand Russian troops entered Poland; general d'Ingelstroph delivered an official document to the permanent council at Warsaw, representing the danger which threatened the king, and requesting the commissioners of the war department

partment to send a body of Polish troops to oppose Madelinsky and his army of patriots, but this was refused. To the permanent council another official note was delivered by general Ingelfstrohm, to take into custody every suspected person without distinction of rank or situation. Their answer was manly and judicious; they briefly said, that, according to the constitutional laws of the republic, no Polish nobleman could be arrested without being judicially convicted.

The number of the patriots now increased daily, and their persecutions and oppressions roused them from every quarter. These critical circumstances called forth the talents and exertions of general Kosciusko, of whom the following brief account may not be unacceptable:

THADDEE KOSCIUSKO is about 40 years of age, of middling stature, and of a fierce and penetrating aspect. He was born a gentleman; but his family not being in affluent circumstances, he was sent to the school of cadets*, to be educated for the army. From this school it has been usual for the kings of Poland to send annually four of its youths into foreign countries, to perfect themselves in military tactics, and the art of war. Kosciusko had the good fortune to be one of these selected youths. He was patronized by the king, and sent into France with the best recommendations, where he studied upwards of four years in the military academy of Versailles, and returned to Poland with the reputation of being a very skilful engineer. Soon after this he was appointed to the command of a company of artillery in the regiment of the crown, and was looked up to as a man of courage and eminence in his profession.

* See p. 304.

About this time it was that he captivated the affections of a young lady of the first family and fortune in Poland. The lovers had contrived many private interviews, before the parents of the lady had an opportunity of discovering their connection; in all of which Kosciuszko conducted himself by the rigid rules of honour and virtue. He therefore conceived himself warranted in making an open declaration of their mutual regard, and in soliciting the consent of the lady's friends for an immediate celebration of their nuptials. But being a leading family among the nobles, an alliance with Kosciuszko was deemed inconsistent and degrading; hence a peremptory refusal was experienced, and an insuperable bar put to the fond hopes of the anxious lovers. Kosciuszko, however, after finding it impossible to gain the consent of her parents, had the address to carry off the lady, and was rapidly pursuing his route to France, when the unfortunate circumstance of their carriage breaking down, and no possibility of having it replaced or repaired with requisite speed, gave the enraged father, and a strong party of relatives, an opportunity of coming up with them. Here a very fierce rencounter ensued, in which Kosciuszko was eventually reduced to the unpleasant dilemma of being obliged either to kill the father, or give up the daughter. Humanity prevailed even over the force of affection. He returned his sword peaceably to the scabbard, and nobly restored the fair prize to his pursuers, rather than spill the blood of him who gave her being.

The public conversation, in all the upper circles, turning on this event, and the feelings of Kosciuszko being considerably hurt, he obtained
leave

leave of absence from his sovereign, and went to America. At that period the late unfortunate war with England was carrying on with full vigour. Kosciusko offered himself a volunteer to Washington, and was honoured with an important command in his army. After the peace he returned with the marquis de la Fayette to France, where the French officers who had served in that campaign, and Dr. Franklin, always spoke of him as a man of equal magnanimity, fortitude, and courage, and to whom America was greatly indebted for his services.

Kosciusko having thus acquired reputation abroad, returned, with the laurels, to his native country, where he afterwards distinguished himself in three battles which prince Poniatowski fought with the Russians, at the time of the diet of Targowicz; and it is said, that if the councils of Kosciusko had been followed in that short war, affairs would have taken a better turn. When, therefore, Stanislaus found himself obliged to cease hostilities, Kosciusko, despising an inactive life, again procured leave to enter into foreign service. He went to Pisa in the month of December 1793, where he professed himself going to Geneva; but, in fact, he went to Paris. He was there introduced to many of the leading members of the convention, whose policy induced them to present him with ten millions of livres to stir up an insurrection in Poland, in order to draw off the Prussian army from acting with the allies, and to confine the attention of Frederick-William to a different part of the continent.

It is evident that Kosciusko made the best use both of his time and money. Early in February he found himself at the head of a considerable

body of the Polish insurgents, and boldly attacked the Prussians who had taken possession of their country. These they drove before them from one part to another, until they came to Inowlotz, where the Prussians contrived to retard the march of Kosciusko for about half an hour, by breaking down part of the wooden bridge; till at last a party of the Poles swam across the river, and coming upon the rear of the enemy, put them to flight. They then attacked the Russian troops in Cracow, consisting of upwards of six hundred men, whom they drove out, and took possession of the garrison; soon after which, viz. on the 24th of March 1794, Kosciusko issued the following proclamation:

“ Dear Fellow Citizens,

“ Having been often called to assist in the salvation of our common country, behold I obey the call—but I cannot be useful to you, or break the chains of slavery, if you do not give me speedy succour!—Support me with your whole force, and fly to the standard of your country. In this common cause the same zeal ought to animate us all.

“ Make voluntary sacrifices of your wealth, which hitherto, instead of being at your own disposal, was at the will of a despot.—Furnish men capable of bearing arms—do not refuse the necessary provisions of bread, biscuit, &c.—Send horses, shirts, boots, cloth and canvass for tents. The generous sacrifices made to liberty and your country, will receive their recompense in the gratitude of the nation.

“ The last moment is arrived, in which despair, in the midst of shame and reproach, puts arms in your hands. Our hope is in the contempt
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of death; which can alone enable us to ameliorate our fate, and that of our posterity. Far be from us that terror which the enemies, conspired against us, endeavour to infuse into our minds.

“The first step to throw off the yoke is to dare to believe ourselves free---and the first step to victory is a confidence in our strength!

“Citizens, the palatinate of Cracow affords you a signal example of patriotism. It offers the flower of its youth, having already granted pecuniary and other assistance---their example is worthy of imitation---do not hesitate to place credit in your country, which will reward you well---the ordinances issued by the generals of the palatinate, and the commanders of the troops, to furnish the necessary provisions, will be placed to the account of imposts, and will be paid for in the sequel. It is unnecessary to encourage you before-hand, because that would appear to doubt your civism; the continued oppression practised by the Russian soldiers, ought sufficiently to convince you, that it is better to make voluntary sacrifices to your country, than to make sacrifices by force to an enemy. Whoever in these circumstances dares be insensible to the urgent necessities of his country, must draw upon himself eternal infamy.

“Dear fellow citizens, I expect every thing from your zeal---your hearts will join that sacred union which is neither the work of foreign intrigue, nor of a desire of domination, but is solely the effect of a love for liberty.

“*Who does not declare for us is against us.* He who refuses to associate with those who have sworn to shed their last drop of blood for their country, is either an enemy, or one who is neuter, and in such a case neutrality is a crime against

civism. I have sworn to the nation that the powers intrusted to me shall not be applied to the oppression of the people. At the same time I declare, that whoever acts against our confederacy, shall suffer the punishment established in the national act, of a traitor and enemy to his country.

"We have already sinned by connivance, which has ruined Poland. Scarcely has an offence against the people ever been punished. Let us now adopt a different mode of conduct---and let us recompense virtue and civism by pursuing and punishing traitors.

THADDEE KOSCIUSKO."

After this proclamation, the populace assembled in prodigious numbers, every where shouting, "Long live Kosciuszko." They then conducted him to the town-house of Cracow, where he was presented to the heads of the Polish nobility, who had assembled there to receive him. By these he was formally invested with the title of general, and made commander in chief of the troops collected for liberating Poland from the shackles of its oppressors. His troops then also took an oath to deliver their country, or perish in the attempt.

To such a degree of enthusiasm were the Poles animated by the conduct of Kosciuszko, that his army was superabundantly supplied with every article necessary for the prosecution of hostile operations.

On the 26th of March the different corporations of Cracow assembled under their respective banners before the town-house, from whence the magistrates led them on in a procession to the church of the Holy Virgin, where the Constitution of the 3d of May, 1791, was publicly read with great solemnity, accepted, and an oath taken

to defend it. General Kościusko afterwards issued a proclamation, exhorting the Polish subjects to respect the dominions of the Emperor, and to give no reason of complaint to any of the subjects of his imperial majesty. This proclamation was sent to all the Austrian commanders and magistrates of the frontier territories, requesting at the same time, that if, during the troubles in Poland, any violence should be committed on the persons or property of any of the subjects of his imperial majesty, application should be made to the revolutionary government which had been established, and which engaged to procure an immediate and ample satisfaction and indemnification for such violation.

By this revolutionary tribunal the chancellor Rimisiewski and several other persons of inferior note were tried, convicted of treason against the nation, and executed in the market-place.

Baron d'Ingelstrophm, having about this time surrounded the diet at Warsaw with his military forces, now demanded that the arsenal should be surrendered to him. This was bravely resisted, and notice being sent to Kościusko, he on the 6th of April set out from Cracow on his route to Warsaw. His army of regulars and artillery had received a reinforcement of 4,000 peasants, armed with pikes, scythes, &c. On his way, he defeated 6,000 Russians, under Romanzow. The Polish peasants, driven to desperation, gave no quarter. A dreadful carnage of the Russians was the consequence. Colonel Woronzow was taken prisoner, 1000 Russians were killed, while the Poles had only 60 slain, and 80 wounded. The defeated lost eleven pieces of heavy artillery, and all their ammunition.

Early

Early on the 16th of April, the Russian ambassador not only again demanded the surrender of the Polish arsenal, but also that the military should be disarmed, and that twenty persons of consequence should be arrested, and, if found guilty, punished with death. The king and permanent council remonstrated in vain. Prince Sulkowsky, the chancellor, being sent to Ingelstrohm upon the occasion, was received with so much violence and insult, as to throw him into a dangerous sickness, in which he remained a considerable time. This spread rapidly through the city. The soldiers and inhabitants prepared for what they expected would follow. The Russians, of whom there were 6000 in the city, attempted early in the morning of the 17th, to take possession of the arsenal, and disarm the garrison. A deputation immediately flew to the king, and requested him to revenge the insult offered to his troops in the capital. He immediately answered, "Go, and defend your honour!" They instantly took the loaded piece of cannon, which stood before the castle, and marched to the palace of Ingelstrohm, who was then in it. In the mean time, the people took possession of the arsenal, armed themselves, drew out the cannon, and assembled a force of 20,000 soldiers, citizens, and inhabitants. The contest began, and continued without the least intermission for eighteen hours, when the Russians, driven from palace to palace, belonging to different nobles, hung out the white flag, and offered to surrender. Although this was most readily accepted, the Russians were so treacherous as to fire upon the people afterwards. This so incensed the inhabitants, that they killed all the Russians,

Russians, and set fire to the palaces and places of their shelter.

The Prussian minister Buckholz was detained as an hostage, as were several Russian general officers.

The situation of the king now became alarming, especially since the regency no longer kept any measures with the ministers and other agents of Russia and Prussia, and the people had shewn an inclination for capital punishments.

On the 24th eight members of the regency went to the king and said, "We are appointed by the regency to say to you, Sire, that the people express great distrust of your majesty being desirous of quitting Warsaw secretly. They say that yesterday you took a walk along the Vistula, accompanied only by two persons, in order to prepare your flight by water. We have pledged our lives on the falsity of these suspicions, but the alarms of the people are not to be calmed; and we beg of your majesty to give us the means of satisfying the people on this head." The king replied, "It is about four days since I took such a walk as you mention, but it was in broad day, and without any mystery. I went to see the rafts which were arrived, and to ask what provisions they had brought for Warsaw, a thing of much importance at the present juncture. I afterwards went to see how far the building of the bridge was advanced. From thence I returned to the Great Square in full day, and accompanied not by two persons, but by a crowd of people. Gentlemen, I gave you, four days ago, my word that I would not quit Warsaw---I reiterate the same to you now in the most positive manner---what would you more?" Upon this answer of the king, the delegates replied, "That for themselves, they were

were persuaded of his truth ; but that the people's distrust was so great, that something more than this must absolutely be done."—" Say then yourselves (replied the king) what you think necessary." They then declared, " That the people wished to have some one of confidence always in the royal apartment, and to follow his majesty wheresoever he went." The king answered, " This must necessarily hurt me extremely, if the distrust arises from you : but as you say the people can no otherwise be calmed, I do not oppose it." The delegates then begged the king to appear often in the most frequented places of the city, as he had been used before the 17th of April, which the king promised. The delegates then mentioned two foreigners who resided at the Castle, and were attached to the king, the one for near thirty, the other for ten years, as much suspected. This intimation was highly resented by his majesty, and he concluded the audience with answering for the fidelity of all his servants who resided at his palace.

The plan of setting a guard over the king was, however, put into execution. Two municipal officers accompanied him wherever he went and ate at his table. For this service, fourteen members of the municipality had been nominated, who relieved each other every twenty-four hours. In other respects the king was treated with every outward mark of dignity, and he shewed himself to the people every day by riding through the streets of Warsaw. It will, however, be perceived by this circumstance, that Stanislaus, the good but unfortunate king, was a mere prisoner of state, and his life dependent on the will of the mob. The council of regency was at this time supreme.

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The king of Prussia now, having detached himself from the confederacy against the French, arrived at the head of his army in Poland, and, united with the forces of Russia under general Ferfen, conceived that he came but to conquer.

We may here stop to contemplate the scene which Poland at this time presented to the view of Europe. We perceive an honest unsophisticated people oppressed by strangers, and a virtuous but unhappy prince struggling in the same toils, lost to his age and useless to his nation. Poland, so long the victim of foreign politics and venal elections, and protected only by the common jealousy of neighbouring states, became the easy prey of treaties and partitions; but at length, instead of intriguing and negotiating, we behold the Russian ambassador give the law at Warsaw, himself a soldier, and an army in his suite. Prussia, which had sometimes been temperate from fear, and just from jealousy, threw off the mask, and avowed that it would divide, not defend the territories of its ally; an ally whom it had long deterred and intimidated from deprecating the vengeance of Russia, and securing the friendship of that turbulent court by concessions equal to its rapacity and ambition. The house of Austria, entangled and embarrassed in a distant and sanguinary war, was content to look on with a sullen neutrality, or to stipulate a reversion and contingency in the price of so much violence and iniquity; perhaps, too, it looked for a balance of aggrandizement in the acquisition of provinces which had long been severed from another frontier of the empire by the victorious arms of Louis the Fourteenth. These views must naturally be involved in impenetrable mystery, till events themselves shall chase the cloud from
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before us; Poland, however, remained without a friend, a protector, or an ally; her bitter fortune threw her in the midst of enemies, who are those of one another when they are not her's, and who know no bond of peace, no interruption of hostility, but while they plot her ruin, or consummate the crimes of which she is the victim. Does the court of Vienna regret Silesia, or pant for the re-union of Lorraine and Alsace?—The balance is to be preserved in the Germanic body, by indemnifying the king of Prussia with the spoils of Poland. Does Prussia covet the maritime towns of Poland?—The empress must have an equivalent in the interior provinces of Poland. And lastly, does she form a design to become a German power, or to occupy the delightful provinces of European Turkey?—The consent of Prussia is to be bought with a third partition of Poland. Poland pays every crime, and feeds the insatiable maw of avarice, envy, and ambition---“Indemnify yourself in Poland” is the spirit of every treaty, and the virtue of every negociation.

To return. Stanislaus now entered warmly into the national cause, and among the first acts of patriotism sent one half of his plate to the mint; and a thousand ducats to the military chest; the other half of the royal plate was to be expended in gratuities to the families of such as perished in the cause of their country during the 17th and 18th of April.

All parties, the king, the nobles, and the people, being now united, it became apparent that, though some extreme cruelties, executions, and proscriptions by the revolutionary committee had led Europe to suppose that the French furor had seized the Poles, yet the real object of their pre-
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sent exertions was widely different, and might be divided into two parts: the first was, the recovery of the dismembered provinces; the second, the perfect and entire re-establishment of the Constitution of May 3, 1791, a constitution of a nature very opposite to that system of equality which, in order to level every thing, destroys, and degrades all that is respectable in society.

It will not be expected, and cannot be necessary, that we should trace all the vicissitudes of the campaign; the various actions in different and distant parts of the kingdom can only be interesting in their eventual tendency, and would be tedious in the detail. Prominent events, therefore, are all that we shall record.

Towards the end of May the Prussian minister at the court of Vienna requested, on the part of the king his master, the co-operation of Austria against Poland; the Austrian cabinet however answered, that it would do every thing to debar the Poles from receiving any succour, but that it could do no more at present than draw a strong cordon on the Polish frontier.

On the 29th of the same month the provisional council of regency at Warsaw ceased its functions and gave place to a national council in consequence of an order from Kosciuszko, who further commanded that all their deliberations should be submitted to the king, and that his majesty should be requested to communicate his opinion to them on all subjects connected with the welfare of the state. Notice of this measure was transmitted in a letter from Kosciuszko to the king, who returned the following answer:

“ Mr. Generalissimo,

“ You may judge yourself of the satisfaction I feel by your letter of the 21st of May, which I

received the 26th following. I have already assured you that I never will remove from my country and my nation, even at the greatest personal risque; that I do not desire authority or power any more, or longer than you and the nation find it useful to the country. Persisting invariably in this determination, I have received, with sensibility, the information you have announced to me, of having ordered the supreme council to make a report to me of all their essential operations.

"This day Mr. President Zakrzewsky, and Mr. Potocki, formerly marshal, confirmed to me the same thing in the name of the supreme council established here during yesterday, and they have shewed me what you enjoined in writing to this effect. Agreeably to your expectations and desires, I will communicate to the council faithfully all MY IDEAS relative to the welfare of the country. I will, moreover, concur conjointly with this council in all the means which may assure the welfare of the country and the nation.

"Under the auspices of Providence, let us all hope for the common defence of the intentions and works of all of us, who are born Polonese—fully and sincerely UNITED. I shall employ myself to attain the proposed end by co-operating by my example, and by encouraging others.

"My vows and wishes accompany you every where; and it is from the bottom of the most sincere heart that I give you the assurance of the highest esteem, and of the affection that I bear you.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS King."

Warsaw,
May 29, 1794.

JA

In this letter we see something like mutual confidence restored, and due respect paid to the regal power; but we have still the mortification of beholding degradation supply the place of respect towards the most benevolent and patriotic king that ever added lustre to a diadem. The fact is, that a municipal officer still accompanied the king all day and slept in the same apartment at night. The king had neither influence nor agency in the affairs of the nation; and with respect to military movements, he was not permitted even to ask questions. It had been signified to him, that on condition of his silence in this particular, he might be assured that every mark of respect due to his person should be observed.

On the 15th of June Cracow surrendered to the Prussian forces under general Van Elsnér, and on very favourable conditions. The people at Warsaw, however, were much enraged at the capitulation, as there were 7000 men in arms and 50 pieces of cannon in the garrison.

The king of Prussia now bent his course towards Warsaw, within a small distance of which place he remained for a considerable time without commencing any operations. A corps of Russians also was stationed in the environs of the capital. By a singular dexterity Kosciuszko eluded the Prussian, and by a brave attack defeated the Russian troops, and on the 11th or 12th of July entered Warsaw.

As Warsaw has no fortifications a siege in form was not necessary to the Prussians. But as that part of the capital which was exposed to them was covered by an intrenched camp of the army of Kosciuszko, it was unavoidably necessary to attack it by storm. This attack was made on

the 31st of June, by a heavy cannonade, and in the course of that day several hundred bombs were thrown into the city; but a dreadful fire being kept up on the besiegers by day and night, an incredible number of lives were lost. The issue of this enterprize caused much concern, and excited a very lively interest in Prussia, as not only the monarch but the two eldest princes shared the toil and hazard which attended it. The prince royal was once in imminent danger. The cannonading having ceased, he laid himself down to rest in a barn, with orders to be awakened at the first shot of the enemy. His orders were complied with, and the prince had no sooner mounted his horse than one of the enemy's bombs burst, and destroyed the barn in which the prince had been lying a few minutes before.

Either from doubt of success in an actual attack, or from better motives, the king of Prussia endeavoured at this juncture to open a negotiation for a surrender of the place. He wrote, therefore, as follows to his Polish majesty :

“ Sir, my Brother,

“ The position occupied by the armies which surround Warsaw, and the efficacious means which are begun to be employed to reduce it, and which augment and advance in proportion as an useless resistance is prolonged, ought to have convinced your majesty that the fate of that city is no longer dubious. I hasten to place that of the inhabitants in the hands of your majesty: a speedy surrender, and the exact discipline I shall cause my troops who are destined to enter Warsaw to observe, will secure the lives and property of all the peaceable inhabitants. A refusal to the first and final summons which my lieutenant general

general de Schwerin has just addressed to the commandant of Warsaw, will inevitably produce all the terrible and extreme means to which an open city, which provokes by its obstinacy the horrors of a siege, and the vengeance of two armies, is exposed. If, under the circumstances in which your majesty is placed, your majesty may be permitted to inform the inhabitants of Warsaw of this alternative; and if they are permitted freely to deliver it, I can anticipate with an extreme pleasure, that your majesty will become their deliverer. Should the contrary happen, I shall regret the more the inutility of this step, because I shall no longer be able to repeat it, however great may be the interest I take in the preservation of your majesty, and of all those whom the ties of blood and loyalty have called around your person. In any case I trust that your majesty will accept the expression of the high esteem with which I am,

Sir, my Brother,
the good Brother of your Majesty,
(Signed)

FR. WILHELM."

Camp at Wola,
August 2.

The reply of Stanislaus Augustus was as follows:

"The Polish army commanded by generalissimo Kosciuszko, separating Warsaw from your majesty's camp, the position of Warsaw is not that of a city which can decide on its surrender. Under these circumstances nothing can justify the extremities of which your majesty's letter
 1 i 2 apprizes

apprizes me; for this city is neither in a state to accept, nor in that to refuse the summons which has been transmitted by lieutenant-general de Schwerin to the commandant of Warsaw. My own existence interests me no more than that of the inhabitants of this capital; but since Providence has vouchsafed to elevate me to the rank which allows me to manifest to your majesty the sentiments of fraternity, I invoke them to move your majesty to abandon the cruel and revengeful ideas which are so contrary to the examples kings owe to nations, and (I am persuaded of it) are altogether opposite to your personal character.

(Signed)

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS."

Warsaw, August 3.

Kosciusko, with an army of 40,000 men, was resolved to defend himself to the last extremity; but the Prussians had carried several of the Polish redoubts, and were actually self-assured of the capture, when information was brought to the king that an alarming insurrection had taken place in South Prussia, that defied all ordinary exertions to suppress it. The king, aware that without immediate relief the confines of Silesia would be in danger of a complete conquest, determined on raising the siege of Warsaw, and accordingly moved to an advantageous position near Raczin, on the 6th of September, in order to take the most effectual measures that circumstances might require.

At the moment the intelligence reached him, the king issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of South Prussia, stating that they had been
 I imposed

imposed upon by insidious intriguers, desiring them to resist the orders of the insurgents, and offering a general amnesty to such as should return to their allegiance. The result was, that many persons who had been misled implored the king's mercy, a force was stationed there to be ready to act in case of future attempts, and the king of Prussia returned to Berlin. Future historians will be better able to ascertain whether an awe of Kosciusko's army under the walls of Warsaw had not some effect on the Prussian monarch's determination to retire.

Be this as it may, Kosciusko resolved on the attempt to foment an insurrection in West Prussia, in hopes by that circumstance, added to the troubles in the south, to divert effectually the arms of his Prussian majesty from the interior of Poland.

In a short time it became visible that Kosciusko was intent on carrying the war beyond its first limits, and of attempting the recovery of some of the dismembered provinces, and not only of those, but even the capture of some provinces which had been subject to the house of Brandenburg for more than a century. The progress of the Poles in West Prussia was such, that after the capture of Bomberg by general Madelinski, not only Dantzic, Thorn, Culm, and Graudentz, seemed on the point of being restored to the republic of Poland, but there was even room to apprehend that the Poles would penetrate into Pomerania as far as Stettin.

Kosciusko now turned his view towards Lithuania, and resolved on measures for its safety. On his way thither, having received the news

of a defeat which a corps of the Polish army had met with at Brzesc, on the 18th and 19th of September, and that general Suwarrow was on his march to attack Warsaw, he resolved to march with 20,000 men, and give battle to that general before he should approach the capital.

He was, however, informed that general Fersen meant to attempt forming a junction with general Suwarrow; to prevent which Kosciuszko, leaving the main body of his army under the command of prince Poniatowski, advanced with 6000 men to intercept general Fersen. This last general resolved to attack Kosciuszko on the 10th of October, when a most dreadful engagement ensued. Twice the Russians attacked with vigour, and twice they were repulsed.

The victory would have remained with the Poles, had they contented themselves with having beaten back the enemy; but resolving to pursue this advantage, they abandoned the favourable position which they had taken upon the heights, and advanced in their turn to attack the Russians. The Russian troops formed themselves anew, succeeded in throwing the Polish line into confusion, which was already a little in disorder, from their movement in advancing to the attack. The rout was soon complete. The Polish infantry defended themselves with a valour approaching to fury. The cavalry suffered less, and retreated in good order. The battle lasted from seven in the morning till noon, and the gallant Kosciuszko displayed prodigies of valour. Ever in the hottest part of the engagement, he had three horses killed under him. At length a Cossack, without knowing
who

who he was, wounded him from behind with a lance. When he fell, his attendants, in their confusion, rashly articulated his name *.

Kosciusko recovered a little, and made a few steps forward, when an officer, striking him on the head with a sabre, brought him again to the ground. While he lay weltering in his blood he was approached by a Cossack, who prepared to give him a mortal blow; but a Russian officer who came up at the time stayed the arm of the Cossack; upon which the General exclaimed, "If you wish to render me a service, suffer him to strike; do not prevent my death!" This Russian officer is said to have been a general Chruozazow, to whose wife Kosciusko had, some weeks before, generously given leave of departure from Warsaw to join her husband.

It was soon discovered that this important defeat was attributable to the misconduct of the Polish general prince Poninski, who was posted with 4000 men to defend the passage of the Vistula; but who, either from ignorance or treachery, suffered the Russians to cross the river without attempting to molest them; and when Kosciusko was attacked from a quarter whence he had no reason to expect a surprize, the same general committed a still greater fault in not coming to his assistance, though very near to the scene of action. The loss of the Poles was computed at 3000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and this victory cost the Russians so dear, that they

* Kosciusko was disguised in a peasant's dress, which he had never put off since the confederation. Before the battle in which he fell, he had given orders to his soldiers, that, in case he should fall into the hands of the enemy, they might shoot him. This was actually attempted by some of them; and had they not, in their consternation, pronounced his name, he would not have been known.

fell back towards Lublin, instead of approaching Warsaw*.

The misfortune of the army under general Kosciusko excited universal grief at Warsaw; the Supreme Council, however, undaunted, and firm in their duty, published the following address to the nation:

“Citizens, when you took up arms with an intention of recovering your liberty, and of saving the country, you solemnly swore before God, that neither the greatest adversities, nor the greatest reverses, should shake your fortitude. Providence, in whose hand is the fate of nations, has been pleased to try your constancy. Thaddeus Kosciusko, whom you had elected chief of the armed force, has just been made prisoner in a bloody combat with the enemy. This sad event certainly fills your hearts with just sorrow, and your sensibility is the tribute due to the virtue of that worthy citizen, the victim of his patriotism. But, citizens, beware of despair, and of burying with his fate the hopes of your country. Remember the motto you have adopted, *Liberty or Death!* Preserve the spirit of unity, redouble your zeal and courage, and God will still bless the goodness of your cause.

“The Supreme Council promise you, that they will remain on their post; that they will defend liberty with you, or perish along with her. In order to fulfil the duty prescribed to the council by the act of insurrection, they have appointed a new supreme chief of the armed force:---

* The Empress, to testify to general Suwarrow her satisfaction on the subject of the victory at Brzesc, appointed him her aid-de-camp, and sent him a crown of laurels, set in brilliants, of the value of 60,000 roubles. She also permitted him to choose a regiment in her army, which should bear his name for ever.

Thomas Wawrzecki, lieutenant-general, has been elected. Citizens, you know his excellent character; you are acquainted with his civil and military virtues. The Council hope, that you will not suffer yourselves to be cast down by misfortune; but rather that you will summon up all your strength, for the salvation of the state; and that, supported by your energy, you will enable the Council to maintain the defence of liberty and the country.

“ Done at Warsaw, in the sitting of the Council, Oct. 14, 1794.”

At the same time was dispatched the following letter of the Supreme National Council to Generalissimo Kosciuszko :

“ The Council, in your misfortune, bewails that of the country at large. They placed not in events that confidence which they have never ceased to repose in your virtues.—The duty of good citizens, and your example, will prevent our despairing of the country. As long as you shall be at liberty to address the Council, boldly make known to us your wants, and those of the brave companions of your efforts, who now partake of your melancholy situation. So high is the value which the Council set upon your person, that they would willingly restore to the enemy all their prisoners in exchange for you; and there is not an individual in the Council that would not joyfully barter his liberty for your's.

“ It is by an uncommon course of things, generalissimo, that you receive from your contemporaries that tribute which the latest posterity will one day render you.

“ Such are the sentiments which the Supreme Council charges me, in my quality of president
for

for the present week, to convey to you ; and to these I add the feelings of my profound respect.

“ (Signed)

“ THADDEUS DEMBOWSKI, President.”

A few days after this, a trumpeter from the enemy brought a letter from Kościusko to the Supreme Council, in which he stated, that the number of officers taken prisoners in the action of the 10th, amounted to 125 persons, with five generals beside himself. He spoke highly of the treatment he received from general Ferfen, and the care that was taken to heal his wounds.

Soon after the battle of Brześć, the Russian general Ferfen wrote in these terms to the king of Poland:

“ SIRE,

“ The total defeat of the Polish corps at Kamień, the making of a great number of privates and officers of every rank, and above all the commander in chief, and author of the revolution of 1794 (Kościusko), prisoners of war, were the *glorious* effects of the arms of her Imperial Majesty on the 10th of October.

“ Convinced that your majesty and the republic of Poland have again entered into the former order of things, I apply to the legitimate power of Poland, by a just reclamation, to demand the liberty of the Russian generals, officers, soldiers, and servants, as well as persons of the diplomatic body, who, in contempt of the most sacred rights of nations, have been detained in the prison of the capital. I desire they may be safely conveyed to the corps under my command.

“ In the most sincere hope that tranquillity will once more be restored in Poland, and that I shall

shall in the course of this year have the honour of personally paying my respects to your majesty, I beg your majesty to condescend to accept of the *anticipated homage* with which I am, &c.

“BARON FERSEN.”

To which insolent application the king thus replied :

“SIR,

“However painful we find the defeat of a part of the Polish army on the 10th of October, especially on account of the loss of a man valuable in all respects, and whose merit it has been to have laid the foundation of the independence of his country, yet it cannot shake the firmness of those who have solemnly vowed either to die or to conquer for liberty.

“You need not wonder, Sir, if your demand to us of the liberation of the Russian prisoners and hostages, who serve as pledges for the Poles seized by the Russians, does not meet with our concurrence. If you were to propose the exchange of your prisoners for our own, I would then voluntarily gratify your wishes.

“STANISLAUS, Rex.”

The Russians now hastily advanced towards the capital, and general Fersen summoned Warsaw to surrender. This summons was inclosed in a letter to the king, which he sent unopened to the council. The answer was, as might be expected, an absolute refusal. At this juncture the Polish generals Madelinski and Dambrowski, by forced marches, retreated from South Prussia, and by skilful manœuvres threw themselves into Warsaw.

After

After the junction of the Russian corps of generals Ferfen, Dernfeld, and Denisow, with that of Suwarrow, they proceeded, under the command of the latter general, for Prague, where, on the 4th of November, they made dispositions for operating a cruel change in the situation of the Polish inhabitants.

The suburb of Prague, separated from Warsaw by the Vistula, was defended by more than a hundred pieces of cannon, disposed upon 33 batteries. It was under the fire of this terrible artillery that general Suwarrow made his troops mount to the assault, in the same manner as he had done at the taking of Ismael *. He gave also general directions that not a musket shot should be fired, but that his troops, upwards of 50,000 strong, should employ only the sabre and the bayonet. Each column was preceded by a body of soldiers with scaling ladders and fascines to fill up the entrenchments, and means to carry the assault. But the ardour of the Russians rendered this unnecessary; for within 150 paces of the entrenchments, a general cry was raised at once by all the columns, and the soldiers in the front, flinging away the ladders and fascines that encumbered them, sprung forward with their comrades to climb the works of the besieged.

The centinels on the works had but that moment given the alarm, and the cannon of the Poles commenced firing on all sides, but with no effect, as from the darkness of the night their balls passed harmlessly over the heads of the Russians.

* It will be recollected that it was general Suwarrow who commanded at the taking of this Turkish fortress, where the Russians entered by climbing over the dead bodies of their comrades as well as their enemies. The general gave the same orders in the assault of the suburbs of Prague, and enjoined his soldiers to give no quarter.

By good fortune or good conduct, which seldom occurs in such operations, it happened that the six Russian columns presented themselves at the same moment before the lines of Prague; so that the Polish generals, occupied at once in all quarters, could not succour one place more than another, and were unable to maintain an unequal contest against the united attack of 50,000 men.

The cry raised by the columns penetrated the entrenchments on the side of the Vistula, and added further to the consternation of the Poles engaged with the other columns, who, fearing to be surrounded, were for retiring into Warsaw over a bridge. Here again they were met by the other Russian columns, when a dreadful conflict ensued, in which a great part of the garrison of Prague was miserably slaughtered. The resistance was at an end in the space of eight hours, but the fury of the Russians continued the massacre for two hours longer.

From the windows of the houses and hotels of Warsaw, the appalled inhabitants were spectators, at the dawn of day, of the merciless slaughter of their friends, and the pillage committed in the suburbs, which continued till the noon of the 5th.

The number of unfortunate Poles who perished by the sword, the fire, and the water (the bridge over the Vistula having been broken during the action), were estimated as follows: Five thousand men were slain in the assault; the remaining 5000 (for there were only 10,000 soldiers in the town, and the Russians were 50,000 strong) were taken prisoners or dispersed. After the battle was ended, the Russians proceeded to disarm the citizens, and to plunder their houses. When this was over, and ten hours after all resistance

sistance had ceased, about nine o'clock at night they set fire to the town, and began to butcher the inhabitants. The sick and the wounded perished in the flames: the rest, old men, women, and children, fell by the sword. Nine thousand persons of every age, and of either sex, are computed to have fallen in the massacre, and the whole of the suburb, except a few scattered houses, was reduced to ashes.

After this dreadful execution, no hope remained of saving Warsaw. The principal chief of the insurrection, count Ignatius Potocki himself, advised to treat with the Russian general; and for that purpose repaired to the head-quarters of the Russians with propositions of peace, in the name of the republic. But count Suwarrow refused to hear him, observing haughtily, that the empress, his sovereign, was by no means at war with the republic; that the only object of his coming before Warsaw was to reduce to obedience those Polish subjects who, by taking up arms, had disturbed the repose of the state. He at the same time insinuated, that he should treat with none of the chiefs of the insurrection, but only with persons who, invested with legitimate authority, should come to speak in the name, and on the part, of his Polish majesty.

Count Potocki being returned with this answer, it was resolved to send deputies from the magistracy of Warsaw to the Russian commander. During all this time the fire of the city did not cease playing upon the Russians in the suburb of Prague, who answered it but feebly. The deputies, Buzakowski, Strazakowski, and Makarowcz, having repaired to the head-quarters, returned about noon on the 5th. They had been constrained to surrender the city at discretion into the hands

hands of count Suwarrow, under the single condition that the inhabitants should be secure in their lives and property. The general, having consented to this, added, "That besides safety to their persons, and the preservation of their property, there was a third article, which, without doubt, the magistrates had forgotten to ask, and which he granted, *pardon for the past.*"

The deputies being returned into the city, a proclamation was published to this effect:

"The deputies of the city of Warsaw, sent to general Suwarrow, commanding the Russian troops under the city, having reported to the magistracy that they were received amicably by his excellency the said general, who had declared his disposition for a capitulation; and also that they had obtained some preliminary articles, signed by him, by which he had promised the citizens safety to their persons and property, and oblivion of all past wrongs: the magistracy notifies the same to the citizens, wishing them to keep themselves quiet till the entire conclusion of the capitulation, and that they will cease their fire, his excellency having ordered his men not to fire on their part."

In consequence of this submission of the city, the magistracy also informed the people of the desire of general Suwarrow that all the inhabitants should surrender their arms, of every kind, before the signing of the capitulation, under promise of all arms of value, and fowling-pieces, being returned to the proprietors after the re-establishment of tranquillity. The inhabitants obeyed this order, but the soldiery then in the city refused. Their chief, Wawrzecki, and many members of the supreme council, refused to take part in the capitulation.

This

This difficulty gave occasion for more parleys, which lasted all the 6th. The king demanded a week to accomplish a pacification; but count Suwarrow would grant no more than two or three days, during which time they laboured to repair the bridge over the Vistula. In fine, it was agreed that those of the military who refused to lay down their arms should have liberty to go out of Warsaw. But the Russian general added this declaration, that "all who chose this alternative might be sure of not escaping anywhere else; and that, when overtaken, no quarter would be granted."

After the agreement was signed, the members of the supreme council, and generalissimo Wawrzecki, waited upon the king, in the morning of the 7th of November, and remitted into his hands the authority they had exercised in Warsaw. The same day the magistrates informed the inhabitants, that the capitulation having been signed, the Russian troops were about to enter the city: that the Russian general having promised observance of the most exact discipline, the burgeses were enjoined to preserve order on their part; and the more securely to preserve tranquillity, they commanded all the houses to be kept shut. The general made his formal entry into Warsaw on the 9th, all the streets being lined with Russian troops, while the houses, even those of the foreign ministers, were shut up. The chief magistrate met him at the bridge of Prague, and presented him the keys of Warsaw on a velvet cushion.—Suwarrow received the magistrate with a grace that was highly pleasing to the citizens. He afterwards received the compliments of the king, and on the 10th he repaired with great pomp to the castle, to pay his respects to his majesty.

Major-

Major-general d'Isiniéff was now dispatched to Petersburg with the news of the reduction of Warsaw by the troops of the Empress; the 1st of December was set apart as a day of solemn thanksgiving to God; and Te Deum was sung for this important event.

“The impiety which prevails in France (as an anonymous writer has observed) must shock every serious mind; but what is it compared with this act of ostentatious and solemn blasphemy! If it were possible to suppose that those who had acted a part in it really believed they were performing an act of religion, how much more dreadful would such religion be than the most determined Atheism!

“Melancholy and disconsolate, indeed, is the idea, that this world is the sport of a blind chance, and that death will consign the best and the worst of mankind for ever to one common oblivion; but how much more terrible would it be to suppose the universe under the government of, and mankind accountable for their actions to, such a god as is worshipped at Petersburg: to a Being who is supposed to assist the arms, and enjoy the triumph of powerful oppression over persecuted virtue and innocence, and to delight in seeing his altars stream with the blood of women and of children, and in hearing his praises chanted by the voices of murderers, and in the midst of the shrieks and groans of his victims!”

The Polish patriots who refused to accede to the capitulation of Warsaw took their route toward Sandomir, under the command of Wawrzecki. Their number was 30,000. In want however of provisions, and pressed by the Russians and Prussians, they were soon forced to disband, after spiking eighty pieces of cannon.

The Prussian general Kleist took twenty-two pieces, nineteen waggons of ammunition, and 3000 stand of arms. The remainder of the booty fell into the hands of the Russians. A corps of 6000 men still remained under Wawrzecki, who, accompanied by the generals Madalinski, Dombrowski, and Zajonczek, the chancellor Kallontai, the president Zakrzewski, and several other members of the supreme council, took the route toward Galicia.

The utmost tranquillity was soon established in the city of Warsaw, by means of 9000 Russians, who were constantly on guard, 18,000 in Prague, with all the artillery of the insurgents, and 10,000 in the same position on the Vistula, which was occupied by Kosciusko, during the siege by the Prussians. All around the city batteries were erected with cannon pointed at the city, to keep it in submission, whatever event might happen.

Kosciusko had been all this time under surgical assistance at Ufzeylack, where the Russians shewed every attention to the care of his wounds. Madame Chruozazow, wife to the Russian general of that name, who had herself been formerly set at liberty by the orders of Kosciusko, was very serviceable to him by her kind and personal attentions. He was now ordered to Petersburg, and the escort appointed to convey him thither consisted of two pulks of cossacks, each pulk consisting of 500 men, one of which formed an advance, and another a rear guard to his coach, having two cannons each.—In the coach with Kosciusko were one major and two other officers, and between the two pulks were conducted 3000 Polish prisoners, together with their officers. It

is understood that this brave man is now confined in a fortress near the Russian capital.

It is not doubted that an application has been made from the national council at Warsaw to the Ottoman court, for its interference to prevent the final dismemberment of Poland; but of the success of this application there is at present no probability. On the contrary, some measures seem to have been already taken toward that design; for about the middle of December the Austrian captain Thel was dispatched to Vienna by general Suwarrow, with an account of an arrangement made by the Russian Empress of the territories of Poland. The house of Austria having gained these possessions without the trouble of fighting, appeared so well satisfied with the disposition, that captain Thel, for having been the bearer of the intelligence, was advanced to the rank of major, and colonel Fleischer, of the état major, is shortly to set out for Poland, in order to ascertain the line of demarkation. The Austrian acquisitions, it is rumoured, are to consist of five provinces; the palatinates of Chelm, Sendomir, Lublin, Cracow, and Haliez, sometimes called Pokucie. One thing, however, seems to embarrass this distribution, which is, that the Prussian troops still remain possessed of the palatinate of Sendomir, or, if not actually in possession, are encamped upon its frontiers.

It might reasonably have been hoped that the miseries of this distracted country had been now at an end. The humble submission of the patriots to those who had robbed them of their liberties, it might have been expected, would have disarmed them of their vengeance; but on the 20th of December a courier arrived from the Empress to general count Buxhoerden, governor of

Warsaw, with orders to arrest and send under a strong escort to Petersburg, count Ignatius Potocki; the former president, Zakrezewsky; Kilinski, a revolutionary colonel; Kapostes, a merchant, member of the supreme revolutionary council, and minister of finance; and Lebuchewski. The same messenger brought also a letter from the empress to the king, inviting (or, as some accounts state, peremptorily commanding him) to quit his capital, and to repair to Grodno; and on the 7th January, 1795, his majesty sat off in obedience to the summons. What her purpose is in this measure cannot certainly be known. There is an appearance of cruelty however, independent of the mortification to royal dignity, in thus compelling a king, worn out with age and an impaired constitution, to the fatigue at this inclement season of so long a journey. But from every appearance the life of this excellent man and monarch promises a short duration. The wretched state in which his country is involved has deeply affected him, and will most probably accelerate his departure to the tomb.

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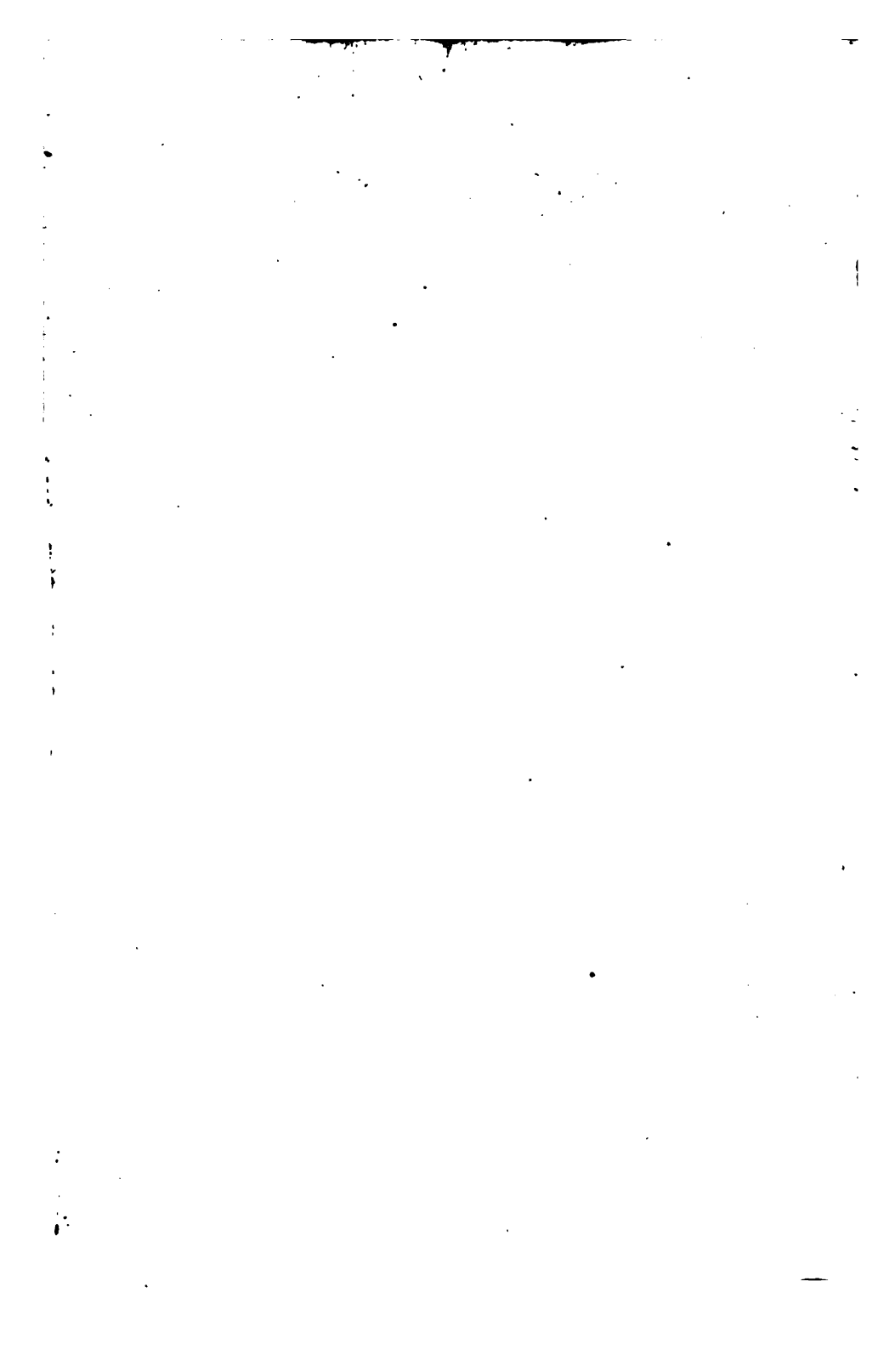
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